THE TOLLEMACHES OF HELMINGHAM AND HAM

by MAJOR-GENERAL E. D. H. TOLLEMACHE

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OF

HELMINGHAM AND HAM

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THE AUTHOR, MAJOR-GENERAL E. D. H. TOLLEMACHE, D.S.O., M.C., WHO DIED ON 27 AUGUST, 1948, AGED 61

THE TOLLEMACHES OF HELMINGHAM AND HAM

BY

MAJOR-GEN. E. D. H. TOLLEMACHE

D.S.O., M.C.

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VIOLET TOLLEMACHE

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FOREWORD

By Field-Marshal Earl Wavell, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.M.G., M.C.

THE Tollemaches are a very old family, one of the oldest in England, and they have always had their roots firmly in the English countryside, living in the same home from generation to generation.

Only once, in fact, has it moved its seat—and that was to Helmingham nearly 450 years ago. So that their history is a part of the history of England, and not only the part that usually gets into the history books, but more live and more interesting than much that does. To anyone who wishes to understand the country life of England and the part played by the old landed families, whose influence lasted so long, this book will provide much interest and pleasure.

It will have a sad interest for the many friends of the author, to whom one feels it to be in some sort a memorial. He had just completed it when he was suddenly struck down by a fatal illness, while still apparently in full health and vitality.

His love of the beautiful old Tollemache home of Helmingham and its family history was the motive that led him to undertake this book, with its accounts of old days of romance and adventure, which are good to read in these drab and difficult times. Ham, the other ancient family seat, which figures in these pages, is also full of memories and treasures of the past.

To those who did not know Teddy Tollemache the following brief sketch may give some impression of a vital and attractive personality.

He was greatly gifted. He was tall, handsome and vigorous and had a natural aptitude for sports and games. He had a quick and lively wit which could animate any subject with flashes of brilliance and fancy. These were the external qualities which showed on the surface. But behind them were a shrewd brain, very considerable knowledge and judgement of men and affairs, ambition to succeed, and a capacity for hard work which was often unsuspected even by those who knew him well. For Teddy made the mistake, so his more intimate friends thought, of using his superficial brilliance as a façade to conceal his deeper and more solid qualities as a man and a soldier, with the result that he was not always taken as seriously as his real talents and ability entitled him to be. He was a fine soldier and had a successful career, but he had qualities of character and intelligence much above those of many who rose above him in rank and responsibilities. Few would have known, for instance, the literary talent which he showed after his retirement from the Army.

Soldiering was in his blood from childhood and was always the main interest of his life, as it had been with so many of his distinguished family, whose exploits are recorded

in this book. He was intensely proud of and devoted to his regiment, the Coldstream Guards, of which his ancestor, General Thomas Tollemache, was the third Colonel. In the 1914–18 war he served in France and in Palestine, and greatly distinguished himself, both in regimental service and on the Staff, winning the D.S.O. and M.C. and a brevet majority. He was wounded and several times mentioned in dispatches. After the War, he went to the Staff College, and later commanded a battalion of his regiment at the early age of thirty-nine. He was then selected for the important appointment of Assistant Commandant at the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, chosen specially to inaugurate an entirely new system of education for military cadets. This work brought out the progressive quality of his mind and his receptiveness to new ideas. His success here was rewarded by his selection for the important and much-coveted appointment of G.S.O.I. to the 1st Division at Aldershot.

Teddy did the staff duties of his division with the greatest efficiency and success. Unfortunately he was compelled through ill-health to refuse two offers of brigade commands in India. And so he fell out from the charmed circle of those marked for the higher posts. He was commanding a territorial brigade at the outbreak of war in 1939, and later had the Portsmouth Area, which he organised and controlled in those anxious days of expected invasion. But later he had to retire under the age rules.

He then settled down to use his abilities in a new line, in literary work. He showed great versatility in this, writing of military affairs at the same time as publishing some lighter fiction. The present book, recording the history of his family, was a labour of love on which he had spent much time and research. This he had fortunately finished, and was about to revise it, when his lively pen would have put the finishing touches to the many interesting and entertaining episodes in the story of an historic family. But suddenly and unexpectedly he was struck down.

Teddy Tollemache will be long remembered by his friends, who will sadly miss his gay companionship and happy atmosphere of his home. He would be glad, too, to be remembered by this book, which meant much to him.

PROLOGUE

> New Nobility is but the act of power. Ancient Nobility is the act of time. It is a reverent thing to see an old castle or building not in decay. Or to see a faire timber tree sound and perfect, how much more to behold an ancient noble family which has stood against the waves and weathers of time.
>
> FRANCIS BACON

'WE fill up the silent vacancy that precedes our birth by associating ourselves to the authors of our existence', wrote Gibbon. In the present times of new masters for old lands, the enforced selling of properties and the ancient homes from which they were administered, the relics of the lives of our forbears must inevitably be dispersed, and the 'silent vacancy', if not recorded in time, will become ever more difficult to fill. Certainly, our aspirations and ambitions must lie in the future, but our judgement to make the best use of our lives must have been built up by the personalities of those who have gone before us.

This is the story of a family who have lived on their lands in England for over eight hundred years. The telling of their history is made easier by the fact that their principal home has been changed only once during that period: when in 1510 they moved from Bentley Hall, five miles on the London side of Ipswich, which they built in the twelfth century, to their newly finished Hall at Helmingham, fourteen miles to the north. The family documents, both legal and personal, which have been carefully stored by succeeding generations have remained singularly undisturbed. The oldest of the family papers now at Helmingham is dated 1195, though the very large collection of personal letters does not start until the sixteenth century. From comparatively small beginnings the Tollemaches amassed great possessions, not as so many families have done, through the gifts of kings to their favourites, but by letting their love light where the money lay, and the dowry of their wives was almost invariably land.

Civil wars, rebellions, good and evil times do not seem to have much affected the serenity of their lives, or of their thoughts engrossed above all in the welfare of their lands. Social upheavals have never more than threatened their possessions, until the present day. They still own more than 100,000 acres of the land of England, and have built many times over every building on their estates, every shed, every cottage, farm, schoolhouse, or manor.

The great wealth which they have possessed has been in the soil; but there always seems to have been a great family feeling of understanding between landlord, tenant, and labourer, from the time of the defence of his servant by the Lord of Bentley in the reign of King Henry III, to a cold winter night, more than six hundred years later, when

the Lord of Helmingham, an old man of eighty-five, ordered his curricle and drove off to the help of a sick farmer; an errand of mercy which caused his death.

They have fought in every war which involved their country, since the times of King Henry II, although John was the first king to reward them for their services. They have been represented in both Houses of Parliament almost continuously since 1678 in the reign of Charles II.

It is in the administration of the local affairs of their county that they have taken the greater interest, ever since Sir Hugh Tollemache became a Justice of Assizes at Ipswich in 1224, and held his own Court at his home at Bentley Hall. But they have never risen to hold offices of State, and as a family they always seem to have been too proud of their homes and too conscious of the responsibilities of their lands to look elsewhere for gain and glory.

Amusing, good looking and good comrades, quick tempered, often a trifle quarrelsome and impatient of correction—there are four recorded duels and sundry killings to their credit or debit, whichever way you like to look upon these episodes—the Tollemache spirit seems to have continued throughout the ages. The third Duke of Argyll, whose mother was Lady Elizabeth Tollemache, said of his brother-in-law, 'I saw the Tollemache blood rising, so I e'en quitted the field'.

The history of England is woven round this story, for many of the well-known or notorious characters of the period drift into the pages as friends of the family, and I dedicate it to all grandchildren, my own in particular, hoping that it may improve their knowledge of history and interest them in the welfare of our land.

I am deeply indebted for much of the sifting of the many family and State papers to my late aunt, Mary Lady Tollemache, and only regret that her days were numbered before she could complete her self-imposed task for which she was so well fitted.

As regards the origin of this ancient family, there is an old saying in Suffolk:

> Before the Normans into England came,
> Bentley was my seat and Tollemache my name.[1]

This couplet was inscribed on the oak decoration of the remaining wall of old Bentley Hall, and also may be found added to a manuscript of the Middle Ages among the Helmingham papers, but in the handwriting of a much later date.

During the eighteenth century it was considered proper in a family of some standing to claim an Anglo-Saxon ancestor; and however careless of other fashions Lionel Tollemache, the fourth Earl of Dysart, may have been, in this respect at any rate he managed to satisfy his contemporaries. An eighteenth-century collector of materials for the

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[1] 'Tradition says that a Saxon named Æthelmarch was the founder of the Tollemache family in Suffolk and that he led his followers to fight against the Danish invasion A.D. 870, the year that St Edmund, King of East Anglia, was martyred by the Danes after the battle of Hoxne. The Saxon word "Æthel" means "noble". Hence, we have Queen Ætheldreda, the foundress of Ely Monastery, and Æthelstan, King of East Anglia.'
East Anglian Miscellany.

family history seems, indeed, to have been troubled with some doubts as to the soundness of the claim, but he contrived to square his historic conscience with his respect for the head of the house by stating that, though he had been unable to find any trace of the name till the reign of Henry I, he could not doubt that the Tollemaches had been established at Bentley before the Conquest, because he had this information from Lord Dysart himself.[1] The unsupported statement of even the most honest Georgian witnesses will not, in these days, be considered evidence of events in the eleventh century!

The name has undergone various alterations in spelling through the ages. The name was spelt Toedmeg, 'Talemache' until the fifteenth century. From then until the eighteenth century, we find Telmach, Talmash, Talmage and Tollemache, in accordance with the period of the writer.

In the United States the name is still spelt Talmage. Mr Robert Talmage of 930, Fifth Avenue, New York City, has most interesting records of the history of this branch of the family, who landed in Massachusetts in 1630, having sailed in the *Plough* (not in the overcrowded *Mayflower*!), which owing to General Tollemache's sudden death were unable to be included in this book.

The fourth Earl of Dysart altered his book-plates in the library at Helmingham about 1730 from Talmash to Tolmach, and his successor sometimes signed himself 'Tellmach'. In succeeding years the much prettier spelling of Tollemache became universal, and for simplicity sake this will be used throughout.

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[1] The 'extract of Dormant Baronetcies, states 'starting with Hugh Talmash about the reign of King Stephen was the first of the family I met with, but without doubt it has flourished from the time of the conquest and in Domesday Book, as Toedmeg, as the name was then spelt, was said to own lands in Suffolk and Bentley'. It is also in the roll of Battle Abbey.

CHAPTER 1

Henry I to Edward II—1100 *to* 1330

TALEMACHE is an old Norman noun meaning a traveller's wallet or bag. HUGH, the first of the family of which there are official records, was in charge of the money-bag of King Henry I. There is a statement in the Pipe Roll of 1130–1 that he had handed over £4 13*s.* 4*d.* to John de St John without the necessary authority from the King. This is not a very good beginning to a family history, and the mistake seems more regrettable as John was his great friend. The St Johns were Norman Barons who came over from the Avranches in the reign of Henry I, a son of William the Conqueror, and it is in connexion with them that all the early references to Hugh Tollemache occur. This, coupled with the existence of a Tollemache tomb at Avranches, makes it seem only reasonable to assume that a branch of the family also came from that district.

The first recorded association between the families is in 1123, when Hugh was a witness in the reconciliation between the St Johns and the monks of Mont St Michel in their abbey fortress on the north coast of Brittany. The story is told in the Cartulary of the Mount. The trouble arose through Thomas St John having his new castle at St John. 'The monks of St Michel, hearing this, prayed to God to have pity on their house and avenge them swiftly on such a wrong-doer. Hearing this, Thomas in horror hastened like a madman to the Mount . . . and enquired of the monks why they were clamouring to God against him and his brethren.' The result was a compromise, distinctly in favour of the Church, and soon after this episode the two families decided to settle in England.

The St Johns had evidently made up their minds that their relations with the religious orders of their new country should be amicable, and Hugh Tollemache was present on several occasions when they made gifts to the Church of England. About 1140 Hugh, with his son John, witnessed a grant made by John St John to Eynsham Abbey near Oxford, and both their names appear again in another grant to Osney Abbey in Oxford and to Godstow Abbey on its foundation, the site of which was close to the present Great Western Railway station. Hugh's son, William, was also a witness to the two latter grants.

At this time the family was settled near Oxford, enfeoffed[1] of the Manor of Stoke Talmage by the Earl of Oxford. 'Hugh Tollemache of Bolebec' is mentioned in the

[1] enfeoffed = put in possession of.

Domesday Book, but as this record was compiled for William the Conqueror some seventy years before, it must refer to some earlier member of the family. Hugh's sons had chosen different parts of the country in which to live: his son William (of whom we will hear later) had lands in Suffolk, while Robert lived in Sombourne in Hampshire, where he had been enfeoffed by the Marshal before 1153, as mentioned in the Pipe Roll of 1166.

Hugh, following the example of his friend Thomas St John, became a monk in his old age, and towards the end of King Stephen's reign entered the Abbey of St Peter at Gloucester. He gave to the Abbey certain lands in Hampton near Minsterworth, with the advowson [1] of the church there. This property had come to him through his wife, and the gift was confirmed to the Abbey by Peter Tollemache, another son, and Thomas St John, and later in 1153 by Henry, Duke of the Normans and Count of Anjou, afterwards King Henry II of England.

WILLIAM, the eldest son of Hugh, is one of the first of the family heard of in connexion with Suffolk. The Pipe Roll of 1161 for that county records the payment by him of one mark, and in 1174 he was one of the four 'Milites of Walleton' who paid five marks for the liquidation of their debt on delivery by the King's writ.

He had the misfortune to be taken prisoner in the battle near Walton Castle, during the struggle between King Henry II and his sons. The fact that he is described as 'miles' means that he held his land from the King as a knight by military service.

William seems to have kept up a connexion with the family in Oxfordshire, as the Pipe Roll of 1167 records a debt of three marks due from him for a fine made before Ranulf Glanville and Hugh of Cressy. This was probably for some agreement made with his brother as to the Oxfordshire lands, which seem to have passed entirely to Peter. The Pipe Roll of 1179 records that the money had not been paid on William's death, and that nothing belonging to him, from which it could be raised, had been found in Oxfordshire.

He was succeeded in his lands in Suffolk by his son, another WILLIAM, who paid forty shillings scutage into the Treasury in 1187. This was a tax imposed thirty years before by King Henry II on his military tenants-in-chief by way of commutation for their personal service in the field, a tax which they might in turn collect from their own tenants. William held his land by knight service from the King, which 'bound him to go to war with horse, purpoint, iron cap and lance', unless he had paid scutage. King Henry did not entirely trust his own landed gentry for support, and used the money he obtained from the scutage [2] to pay for his private army of mercenaries which he imported from the Continent.

Before his death William made his contribution to the Church by a grant out of his property at Bentley to the Priory of Holy Trinity at Ipswich, and this gift was confirmed by King John in 1205. The exact date of William's death is uncertain, but HUGH, his

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[1] advowson = the right of presentation to a benefice or living.
[2] scutage = a tax levied on knights' fees often in lieu of military service.

son, succeeded to the Suffolk estate during the reign of King John, if not earlier. An undated charter of the end of the twelfth century, which contains a grant by him to Matthew of Sudbury of Holegate Mill in Acton, seems to be the earliest mention by name of the Tollemache property in Suffolk. In 1206, his interest in the Manor of Bentley is again recorded, when he claimed the advowson of Bentley Church against the Prior of Holy Trinity, Ipswich, who declared that he held it by gift from the Bishop of Norwich. The Bishop was at that time beyond the seas, with King John's army in France, and the case was, therefore, postponed indefinitely. Hugh then proceeded as if the case had been given in his favour, for in the following year the Prior sued him for advowson. Hugh failed to appear in court, or even to send any excuse, and the case accordingly went in favour of the Prior by default. Hugh could not have had a worse case, and was probably only 'trying it on', as the advowson does not appear to have belonged to the Tollemache family at any time, and its gift to the Prior by Henry of Dodnash had been confirmed by both King Henry II and King John.

Undeterred by his failure to secure the patronage of his parish church, he attempted to get possession of the advowson of Copdock, and even succeeded in placing his nominee in that living for one turn, but eventually he compromised by obtaining a licence to have a private chapel in his house at Bentley. This licence, which was granted about 1233, is still at Helmingham, and an interesting clause includes leave for the purification after childbirth of any woman in the house who could not conveniently attend the mother-church.

The oldest of the family papers now at Helmingham is the settlement on Hugh's wife, Margaret, by her father, Geoffrey FitzGeoffrey, of all his lands in Stanfield, and seems to have been drawn up about 1195. Of the value of these lands we have no record, but they do not seem to have remained in the family, and may afterwards have formed the portion of a daughter. Margaret's family was connected with several families of importance, not only in the neighbourhood but also in the kingdom. It may have been partly owing to this that Hugh was obliged to take a more prominent part in public affairs than was usual in his family up to date.

During the early difficulties of King John's reign he seems to have supported the King, and even as late as 14 June 1213, he received for his services when John had almost reached the height of his short-lived success in Normandy, a grant of the forfeited lands in Acton which had formerly belonged to the 'Norman' 'William of Clerbec'. Shortly afterwards, however, Hugh deserted the King's cause, sharing the determination of most of the gentry of England to rid themselves of his tyranny and of the hosts of foreign soldiers which he had imported from abroad. He returned to his allegiance to the throne at the coronation of King Henry III, when he received seisin[1] of such lands in Suffolk as he had enjoyed when he departed from the service of the late king.

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[1] seisin = possession (as of freehold).

During the next few years Hugh seems to have been occupied chiefly with local affairs. On 28 April 1224 the Patent Rolls records his appointment as Justice in an Assize of Novel Disseisin, which Richard Duket brought at Ipswich against Ives of Kenton: the disputed holding being at Debenham.

Not long afterwards Hugh himself brought an action against one of his tenants, James l'Enviese, who refused to do suit to him at his Court at Bentley for certain lands which he held from him at Copdock. Hugh declared that Miles, the father of James, in the time of King John, and James himself a few years since, had carried out this suit at his Court; and he offered to prove his claim 'by the body of his free man Robert', who appeared and stated Hugh's damages at one hundred shillings, an enormous sum for those days. James admitted that he held the land at Copdock from Hugh, and that Miles, his father, had been first enfeoffed. But, even though he was faced with the possibilities of a trial by battle with Hugh's paid gladiator, Mr Robert, the prospect of the large damages involved was too much for him, and he strenuously denied that to pay suit at Bentley Court formed part of his service. Judgment, however, was given in Hugh's favour, apparently without the necessity of trial by combat.

This is the first mention of a Court at Bentley, and the fact that it was held 'when any theft is to be adjudged' shows that Tollemache exercised greater powers of jurisdiction than the ordinary 'view of frankpledge and assizes of bread and ale', claimed by Hugh's grandson in 1286. The Court of the Lord of Bentley might even hang thieves taken in the act of theft, or felons sentenced by the King's justices.

Judicial combat was considered quite a normal way of settling a dispute, and it continued into the early part of the fifteenth century. It was usual for the complainant in a writ of right to offer battle by his champion, but the defendant might, if he wished, have recourse to a verdict of his neighbours instead of staking his cause on a combat. Even when a duel had been awarded, the judges sometimes took the matter in hand and effected an agreement. Most of the religious houses and often the bishops retained the services of a professional fighter. Thus we find in Bishop Swinefield's household expenses at this time that his champion was paid six shillings and eightpence a year as a retaining fee, and other payments were made whenever his services were required elsewhere. The Abbot of St Edmunds in 1286 declared himself 'ready to prove his claim by the body of his free man Roger, son of Robert of Mutford, who is present, and offers to defend it'.

For those who could not afford to retain a champion, it was not difficult to hire one for the occasion.

From the report of a lawsuit, brought in 1329, we learn that each champion ungirdled, with shaven head, bare-legged, bare-armed, and kneeling, handed his glove with a penny in each finger to the Judge. The parties were then ordered to take their champions to church, and 'to offer there the five pennies which were in their gloves, in honour of the five wounds of God that God might give the victory to him who was in the right'.

The rules forbade the champions to go to the same church. The possibility of concluding an agreement on the field was also recognized in the rules for trial by battle: 'if their masters cannot make a concord while the champions pray, the battle shall proceed'.

In the arrangements for the battle, the judge made the defendant's champion stand to the north, and the complainant's to the south. The advantage, on a sunny day, was therefore with the complainant, but this was considered only fair as the burden of proof rested on him; his adversary won if the stars appeared before the fight was over.

The trial by battle had been introduced into England by William the Conqueror, but in 1166, only some sixty years before the time of our story, King Henry II by his Assize of Clarendon had introduced a new form of judicial procedure, the trial by ordeal. Twelve chosen men from each 'hundred' were sworn to produce all those who were known or suspected as criminals within the limits of their district for such a trial. This formed the origin of the jury system of the present day, but these jurors also acted as witnesses and judges.

The suspected person's trial was found solely in the ordeal or 'judgement of God', where innocence could only be proved by the power of holding hot iron in the hand, or by sinking when thrown into the water, for swimming was considered as a certain proof of guilt.

County business must have occupied an increasing amount of Hugh's attention in 1232, for in that year, though he was still a Justice, he was appointed in addition to be the Keeper of Escheats and Collector of the 40th in Suffolk.

Two years later the Patent Roll records the presence of 'Hugh Tollemache' in King Henry's army in the Marches of Wales, but as Hugh must have been at least sixty at the time and the campaign strenuous, it is possible that this record refers to his grandson and namesake. After the compromise which ended this Civil War, the King felt himself strong enough to reward his supporters, and on 22 November 1235 the military service of a knight's fee, by which Sir Hugh Tollemache held Bentley Manor, was reduced to half a knight's fee by Royal Grant.

The date of Hugh's death is uncertain, but it probably occurred about 1241, in which year his son and heir, WILLIAM, was defending an action brought against him by Olive, widow of Robert de Fresnay, about land in Briset. William married Margery de le Rokele, and his brother Geoffrey, who had the living at Copdock, was a witness to her marriage settlement. His sister, Christian, married Richard de Lovetot, and her father-in-law's charter, granting her for a portion certain rents in Bentley, is among the Helmingham papers. After her husband's death in 1233, she turned religious and handed her portion over to the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, to the great annoyance of the Tollemache family. William followed his father's policy of consolidating his property in places where he already held land, by arranging a marriage between his son and heir, Hugh, and a lady named Bertha, who had been granted land in Bentley by Edmund of

Walsingham. This property had originally belonged to his father, and so was once more brought into the demesne. Edmund owned other lands in Acton, which the Tollemaches hoped would be added to Bertha's portion. Unfortunately Edmund died before the deed was properly executed.

William's son, HUGH, succeeded to the Manor of Bentley on the death of his father in 1252. He granted one ploughland in Briset for the period of his life to his mother, in return for a quit-claim of her dower in the Manors of Bentley, Acton, and Copdock. He was at once involved in a lawsuit on the land which he hoped his wife would inherit in Acton. This ended in a compromise, Hugh receiving twenty-four acres in Bentley, but losing all claim to the Acton property.

Hugh died in 1255 and was succeeded by his son, WILLIAM, who died in 1272. Beyond the usual thirteenth-century lawsuits with their neighbours, their lives seem to have produced little of interest.

The fourth HUGH Tollemache was soon involved in quarrels with his neighbours, who accused him of various encroachments of land. The question of his manorial rights of justice and the collection of fees in the Manor of Copdock was challenged, and he lost this case, the jury assessing the damages against him as 200 marks. Then the old question of the Tollemache rights to the advowson of Copdock Church, which his ancestor, the second Hugh, had claimed nearly seventy years before, cropped up again. Hugh, who really had no legal right whatsoever, managed to keep the case going as far as the Grand Assize, but there it went against him. However, he must certainly have paid his expenses, since he rather acutely agreed to accept the sum of twenty-seven marks on the condition that he would not go to law on this subject again.

Another claim against him was brought by Agnes de Clerbec, the descendant of Clerbec 'the Norman', whose lands were taken away from him by King John and awarded to the second Hugh Tollemache in 1213. In this case Hugh managed successfully to prove his title, and the Clerbecs had to withdraw their writ of encroachment.

The number of lawsuits dealing with the respective rights of the gentry to their lands and to the powers they were allowed to wield may seem curious to the modern mind. But the land of England had been so torn during the previous hundred years by civil wars between rival factions, involving an extremely unpleasant death and confiscation of property to those on the losing side, that it is really rather surprising that so many official records had been kept.

Hugh was involved in further difficulties by his support of his dependents and neighbours accused of violence. Towards the end of 1273, his servant, John, had killed Thomas Martyn of Great Bentley with an axe, on the pretext that Martyn had resisted arrest after the hue and cry had been raised against him for robbery. The sudden demise of Mr Martyn might not have been considered in any way beyond a normal case of the meting out of summary justice, but unfortunately, when the matter was investigated, the circumstances of his death were found to be exceedingly suspicious. The servant,

John, had robbed the dead Martyn of everything he possessed and had run away. Hugh undertook to produce him in front of the Justices, but failed to do so, and was accordingly fined.

A much more serious affair was Hugh's close connexion with John of Samford and Richard de Tany, the murderers of John of Rendham, for he was accused of being an accomplice to their crime. He was eventually acquitted of this charge, but the brother of the murdered man still retained suspicions of him, probably not diminished by the fact that Hugh offered himself as 'Mainpernor'[1] for both the culprits, who subsequently escaped from justice and were outlawed. Matthew of Rendham was determined to avenge his brother, and in 1285 Hugh Tollemache was arrested for the murder. However, he successfully appealed to the record of his first acquittal, which was made by Sir Thomas of Weyland, a notorious judge of that day who was later dismissed for gross corruption.

After such a record it may seem strange to find in the Close Roll of 1291 that Hugh had been elected Coroner for Suffolk. It may have been that the Government Selection Committee of that period had a greater sense of humour than now, or the fact that they appreciated that a knight who had, to our knowledge, been twice implicated in a murder trial from the wrong side should be eminently capable by past experience of dealing with the reasons for the sudden ending to the lives of the people of his county.

In Hugh's favour it must be remembered that, as regards the first case of his servant, John, by medieval law the lord was bound to help 'his man with aid and counsel in all things and be his warrant if he attacked or molested another'.

However, our family coroner was shortly afterwards disqualified, partly on the grounds that he was not living in the county. We know that he had handed over the management of his Suffolk estates to his eldest son, and retired temporarily to stay with his cousin and namesake, Sir Hugh Tollemache of Sombourne. We can only think that this was for reasons of personal convenience, and that perhaps Suffolk was becoming too hot for him.

Hugh married a second time, presumably about 1291, for the settlement on his wife Hilary is dated in the Michaelmas term of that year. He died in December five years later, leaving at least three daughters by his first wife—Elizabeth, Florence, and Margery, and Hugh, his son and heir; and a son, John, by Hilary.

The 'inquest', ordered to be taken after his death by King Edward I, provides the earliest details of the extent of the Manor of Bentley. There were 'two hundred acres of arable, worth yearly 35*s.* 4*d.* at 2*d.* an acre; four acres of meadow, worth yearly 2*s.* 8*d.* an acre; 30 acres of heath, worth yearly 2*s.* 6*d.* at 1*d.* an acre . . . 10 score acres of wood, of which the pastures of 15 acres is worth yearly 22*s.*'

There was also a dovecot, worth yearly 12*d.*, and the rents of assize from free tenants amounted to 60*s.* by equal portions at four times of the year. The dower of Hugh's

[1] Mainpernor = one who stands surety for a prisoner's appearance in court.

wife, Hilary, in these rents was a strict third; 'from ten free tenants who pay yearly rent of assize 20*s*. at 4 terms of the year'. She had also 'a third part of a court leet, of which her portion is worth yearly 2*s*.'

The 'court leet' was the means by which seignorial justice was administered. According to the legal theory of the thirteenth century it had two sources, the delegation of royal powers, and the relation between the lord and his tenants. From the first flowed the 'franchises' which would only be bestowed by the King, and from the second the powers of civil jurisdiction.

The law of frankpledge applied to 'every male of the age of twelve years free or serf'. There were numerous exceptions—'the magnates, knights and their kinsmen, clerks and the like (the clergy), the freeholder . . . nor the citizen who has fixed property'. The head of a household, also, could answer for the appearance in court of the members of his household, his servants and retainers; 'those whom his hand feeds his maunpastus or mainpast' need no other pledge. We have found that Hugh Tollemache was the 'mainpernor' of his servant John. The maintenance of the frankpledge system was enforced by periodic inspections. Twice a year the sheriff held a court to see that 'all men who ought to be are in frankpledge'. The sheriffs reported that 'there are masses of men who never go near a sheriff's turn . . . the men of the lords, who in their own courts see that their tenants are in frankpledge, take the profits arising from this jurisdiction; sometimes they allow the sheriff to be present'. We will find later in our story that the next owner of Bentley Manor, the fifth Hugh Tollemache, claimed to exclude the King's sheriff altogether from his court.

The fifth Hugh Tollemache was over twenty-six when he succeeded in 1296. As the new tenant of his lands, he was obliged to do homage in person to his King, and this ceremony took place at Ipswich, where King Edward I was staying from 26 December until 10 January.

Hugh came into the King's presence 'ungurt and with his head uncovered' and kneeling on both knees, placed his hands between the hands of the King and said: 'I become your man of the tenement I hold of you, and will bear faith to you of life and member and earthly worship, and will bear faith to you against all folk who can live and die.' King Edward then kissed his new tenant, and afterwards Hugh, standing up, with his hands on the gospels, swore the oath of fealty: 'Hear this, my Lord: I will bear faith to you of life and member, goods, chattels and earthly worship; so help me God and these Holy Gospels of God.'

According to *Suffolk Archaeology* 'another branch of the family settled at Hawstead, near Bury St Edmunds. One member of this family, William Tollemache of Hawstead, left a widow known as the Ladye Cecilia, who died in 1281. The accounts of this lady's funeral were kept by her son William and, considering the value of money in 1281, the sum was very large. Masses and ringing of bells for the repose of the lady's soul were ordered to continue for months, and the body was embalmed by the candeleria or

chandler of Bury St Edmunds with wax and divers spices and afterwards attired in fine linen and silk and all necessaries. Wax tapers were provided for those in the funeral procession and some of the guests were supplied with black coats bordered with fur, and new suits. Ladye Cecilia gave special orders that the clothes of all poor persons attending should be mended at her expense. Her executors gave a funeral feast, for which they provided meat and game, fowls and geese, rabbits, fish, carp and eels, with wine and beer, and wine was distributed to the poor.'

Early in his reign King Edward I sent round his judges and lawyers to go into the question of seigniorial rights and the warrants by which these powers were exercised. From this it is recorded on the Hundred Rolls that Hugh Tollemache had 'gallows, pillory, view of frankpledge, assizies of bread and ale', but that he held the view of frankpledge 'without the King's bailiff, when the King's bailiff ought to take two shillings, and now he takes nothing'.

The gallows and pillory which Hugh kept were the visible signs of his right to hang thieves caught on his property in possession of stolen goods. The 'assizes of bread and ale' gave the Lord of the Manor the power to enforce existing prices, and as this was usually done by fines, it lent itself to possibilities of considerable profit.

There was also money to be made in the 'view of frankpledge', of which the sheriff normally took his rake-off. Hugh pleaded his ancestors had exercised these liberties from time immemorial, and for that reason he also claimed them. William of Giselham, Counsel for King Edward I, asked for 'judgement, whether since the said Hugh Tollemache shows no special warrant he can have these liberties'. This was a very dangerous doctrine which, if the Counsel had won his case, would have destroyed all existing liberties and would almost have wiped out the highest powers of seignorial jurisdiction. All the King wanted, however, was to stop any further growth of privileges, and he agreed that 'a continuous use for the last hundred years, the coronation of King Richard I being chosen as a limiting date, was a sufficient answer to the inquiry'. So Hugh was left in triumphant possession of his ancient privileges.

In March 1301 Hugh and his brothers William and John were summoned to join the King at Berwick-on-Tweed, 'with horses and arms decently prepared' to set out against the Scots.[1] The town was quickly captured and the greater part of the garrison and inhabitants were massacred. Edinburgh, Stirling, and Perth fell, and the army took up winter quarters in the old palace of the Scots Kings at Linlithgow. They returned with the sacred stone of Scone, on which the Kings of Scotland had been crowned, placing it at Westminster by the tomb of the Confessor. Legend asserted it to have been Jacob's pillow when 'angels ascended and descended upon him'.

Soon afterwards, Hugh became involved in one of the interminable lawsuits so prevalent in those days. This time it was against his stepmother, Hilary, whom he accused of

[1] This John Tollemache previous to his expedition to Scotland took the black cross, and his arms are now remaining in the Minster of York.

waste on the portions of the Manors of Acton and Bentley, which had been left her for her life; 'to wit, by pulling down one house worth 30 shillings, cutting down 300 oaks worth seven pence each, 5,000 smaller oaks worth a half-penny each, 300 ash-trees worth six-pence each, and cutting turf, in a meadow for mowing, to the value of twenty shillings'. Hilary's attorney denied the waste, so the sheriff was ordered to go in person to the premises and to hold an inquiry in the presence of the parties concerned. Hugh had certainly assessed his damages at the highest possible price, since the capital value of Acton had been placed at two shillings, and at Bentley as eighteen pence a year. There is no record of the result of the case, and we can only hope that this unpleasant family squabble was settled out of court. In his old age Hugh seems to have become rather truculent. 'Hugh and John, sons of Hugh Tollemache', in 1325, with their friends, the Tendrings and Strattons, made a raid on Little Belstead, the property of John, son of Sir Alan of Goldingham, cut down and carried away his timber and fought a pitched battle with his men. The cause of the quarrel is obscure, since the families seem to have been normally on good terms. But all was soon forgiven, since we find that 'Sir John of Goldingham Kt.' was a guest at Bentley in the spring of 1333.

CHAPTER 2

Bentley Hall

We have now learnt something of the troubles and difficulties of the Tollemache family in the past, and have traced its growth during more than 200 years of strenuous times. Now we should know something of their mode of life in those days, and of the house which they must have built with such pride for themselves and their retainers. Luckily the actual contract for the building has been preserved.[1]

Bentley Hall was provided with a moat and a strong palisade as a protection against robbers and armed bands of outlaws, or the attacks to which a private quarrel might expose the owner; such attacks as we have read that the Tollemaches themselves carried out against the Goldinghams of Belstead. The house stood on one side of a large courtyard, which was nearly surrounded by stables, barns, sheds, and offices. These outhouses were built of timber, but the house itself was built of a mixture of flint and brick, since stone was very difficult to obtain in Suffolk. The outer walls of the house were very thick, and the main door was again protected by a small inner moat and drawbridge.

'The magnificently timbered outbuilding, stable, chaise house, harness room, washhouse building, brewing room, etc. all under one great tiled roof and badly in need of repair. Above it divided into rooms in the old days the staff used to live. Some years ago we came upon an old lady in a Suffolk almshouse, her age being 92, who could tell of the old days at Bentley Hall where she lived as dairymaid and dwelt with the others in a big building in the yard.' [2]

'Even the most thoughtless and unimaginative must surely feel the influence of its old age and must appreciate the serene yet bold outlook of its sturdy walls.' [3]

At the back there is a delightful old gable end which contained at one time, inside, a weird ladder staircase leading to the rooms above.

The most beautiful part of the house is to be seen at the side and back. Over the big window which lights what is now the kitchen there exists a wonderfully carved beam

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[1] Doctor Copinger in his *Manors of Suffolk* states that as early as 1210–12 the Lordship of Bentley Hall was in the family of Tollemache or Talmash, held by sergeantry and the service of a Knight's fee, and he quotes the Red Book of the Exchequer and also the Faste Nevill, and says, 'I have even heard it stated that the family held lands here long before the conquest'.

[2] From *East Anglian Daily Times*.

[3] 'Suffolk Parishes', *East Anglian Daily Times*.

BENTLEY HALL OAK BEAM WITH TOLLEMACHE ARMS AND INITIALS

FONT RECENTLY RESTORED IN ST MARY'S CHURCH, BENTLEY, SHOWING THE TOLLEMACHE ARMS

having upon it the emblems of the period and the initials L.T. and S.T. dated 1528; the initials are believed to be those of Lionel and Susan Tollemache (as shown in photograph).

Passing through the front door we come into the hall, which was about fifty feet long with small rooms opening out of it; here most of the household slept at night and passed their spare time by day. The roof was of open timber work covered with tiles; it was fitted with a lantern by which the smoke escaped, for though there were fireplaces in the private rooms, the hall was heated by a fire on a raised hearth in the centre. The room consisted of the natural soil well rammed down, and was strewn with green rushes in the summer and with fresh straw in winter, and for furniture there were benches covered with osier matting, and trestle tables which could be moved when the meal was over. At one end of the hall was a wooden screen with the minstrels' gallery above. Two doorways led through the screen out of the hall. In the wall behind the screen were three doors; the central one opened into the large kitchen, and the others into the pantry and buttery. The approach to the minstrels' gallery was by a newel staircase leading from the porch.

At the opposite end of the hall was a raised dais for the high table, which was reserved for the family and guests of the lord of the manor. Beyond the high table was a door leading into the solar, or private rooms, which were raised above the level of the ground by a vaulted undercroft. The undercroft was a groined vault lit by small lancet windows and was used for storage purposes, but the Tollemaches had probably by now altered this so as to provide better accommodation for their people.[1]

The solar was formerly one large single room, but by now it was divided into separate bedrooms and a parlour, where the family sat after dark or when the weather was too bad for outdoor pursuits. The walls of the rooms were plastered and painted a plain colour, powdered with a pattern of stars and painted folds of drapery 'like a curtain'. They were probably not so finely painted as Chaucer, a few years later, described the bedrooms in his dream:

> alle the walles with colours fyne
> were peynted, bithe text and glose
> of al the Romaunt of the Rose.

Wainscoting came into use during the thirteenth century, and was becoming fashionable. This, like the plastered walls, was also painted. The wood used for this in most parts of England was fir, cheaper and more easily worked than oak, and largely imported from Norway; but in a district where oaks were so plentiful there was no difficulty in obtaining English timber for Bentley.

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[1] King Henry III ordered in 1248 that an undercroft should be prepared for 'the use of his knights' by the addition of 'a chimney and two windows'.

Glass was beginning to be used in the windows of houses at this time, but it was extremely rare, and it is not likely that Bentley Hall had

> windowes wel y-glased
> Ful clere, and nat an hole y-crased,
> That to beholde hit were gret joye.

There were strong wooden shutters, and in cold weather the family had to make their choice between light and heat. Probably the choice was most often in favour of as much warmth as possible, as the difficulty of heating medieval houses was very great. The deficiency in light could, of course, to some extent be overcome by the use of candles; tallow candles cost about 2½*d.* a pound, and there was a chandler in the neighbouring village of Dodnash. Lamps were also used in the private rooms, though the hall was lit with torches.

In later years small partitioned-off corners, as we find in many old eating-houses in London to the present day, were added in the parlour of the solar, when it became the custom for 'sundrie noblemen, gentlemen and others' to 'delighte and use to dyne in corners and secret places, not repayring to the . . . hall'.

The plate seems often to have been displayed on the sideboard in the hall. We have no inventory of plate at Bentley during the thirteenth century; the earliest list is that of the loot taken by Richard Tollemache and his followers when he raided the house of William Fraunces in 1381, but it is probable that the stock was not large. The earliest list of plate at Helmingham includes a salt cellar, and as this was the chief ornament of the table during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it may often have been of silver, even if there was no other plate in the house, and much ingenuity was spent on the design. In fourteenth-century illuminations it is shown to have been made sometimes like a chariot, with four wheels to run along the table, and sometimes it took the shape of a dog or a stag; the plainest form was that of a covered cup on a slender stem. Earthenware was used for jugs, but not commonly for dishes or plates, probably because of its fragility and the heavy-handedness of those responsible for its care. William Fraunces's household utensils were of 'peutre', but during the thirteenth century wooden bowls and trenchers were generally used, though very early in the fourteenth century it became the fashion for the richer classes to have their cups and dishes of silver. A satirist of the time of King Edward II considered that it would have been better to keep up the good old customs of eating off wood and paying for food in silver than to eat off silver and make payment in wood—an allusion to the too prevalent custom of keeping accounts with wooden tallies. Forks were considered a luxury at this time, and for many years later; they do not appear in contemporary pictures of feasts, and are mentioned only in the inventories of the richest class. Knives were often a personal possession carried by the owner, 'but some table knives with ivory handles' were presented to the monks of Peterborough about this time. Special knives were sometimes kept for use at meals.

Spoons were in common use, and were often made of silver; they are mentioned next to the 'pieces of plate' in the list of valuables taken from William Fraunces in 1381.

The customary time for dinner was nine or ten o'clock in the morning. The hour grew later gradually, and towards the end of the fourteenth century seems sometimes to have been as late as eleven. Unfortunately, Froissart does not tell us the exact hour at which the English army, 'because they departed in haste' from Airaines, were obliged to leave their dinners untouched ('flesshe redy on the broches, brede and pastyes in the ovyns, wyne in tonnes and barelles, and the tabuls redy layed'). Unfortunately also for the French the 'great provysion' which they found there about noon must surely have been burnt to a cinder, and nothing except the wine can have been of much use.

Supper was usually at five, and the evening enlivened by music, dancing, and games; chess, which was often played for great stakes, was especially popular. Musicians were also in much demand. They were retained in every large household, and wandering minstrels were never refused admission.

Jugglery and trick-dancing were quite as popular as music. A fourteenth-century illumination suggests that the daughter of Herodias pleased King Herod by turning cart-wheels, and it was very likely by some such dance of an acrobatic kind that Maud Makejoy attracted such attention in the King's Hall at Ipswich during King Edward I's visit there in 1296. The Prince of Wales, who had rather a taste for such feasts, was so pleased with her dancing on 26 December that he gave her two shillings.

Nine o'clock was the usual time for bed. Bedrooms were usually small and separated by wooden partitions only. They contained little furniture except the bed and a large chest, and occasionally a bookshelf. Richard of Gravesend, who died in 1303, had books to the value of £116 14*s.* 6*d.*; these he kept in his wardrobe, but Chaucer's clerks had shelves at the head of their beds, and if what he tells us of his passion for reading in bed is true, he probably had some such arrangement in his room.

The bedroom was still a place where one sought quiet and privacy. In the romance of Bevys of Hampton, when the princess wished the knight to dine with her privately, he came and sat on her bed, and there is a similar scene in the later romance of Ywaine and Gawin:

> In at the dore she him led
> And did him sit upon her bed,
> A quylt full nobil lay thereon
> Richer saw he none . . . . . .
> A capon rosted broght she sone,
> A clene klath and brede thereone,
> And a pot with riche wine.

Next door to the bedroom, or close to it, there was a small lavatory with a fixed hand-basin, supplied from a cistern. The lavatory was also sometimes used as a bathroom,

though baths seem usually to have been set out in the bedroom. There was another lavatory in the hall, or just behind the screens.

In the romance of Florence of Home there is a fine description of the fittings for the bath:

> There comyth water in a cundyte;
> Thorow a lyon rannyth hyt,
> That wroght is all of golde.
> And that standyth in the myddes of the halle
> A hundred knightes and ladyes smalle
> Might washe there an they wolde,
> All at ones . . .

The medieval romancers loved to describe things lavishly—who should be magnificent if not an Emperor?—and we need not suppose that arrangements were on this scale at Bentley. There was probably just a small niche for the fixed basin, and a twisted iron hook for a towel, which was presumably considered sufficient accommodation for a country house in Suffolk which could not pretend to great splendour.

The connexion of the village of Bentley with the Tollemaches [1] would, of course, make long reading, but this I hope has given some idea of its old Hall, that building of 'other days'. In the village church of St Mary the font bears in its panels links with the family whose connexion with it extends for so long. On the bowl are two angels holding shields, on two of which is the Tollemache device. Around the shaft are four lions sergeant alternating with four small buttresses, and the Registers contain many ancient spellings of the name. Mr Botesdale in *East Anglian Miscellany* states that in examining an old Ordnance map he discovered that about a mile further north there was a spot called 'Old Hall' and he thinks that this may have been the residence in the time of King John.

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[1] The Tollemaches have been so linked with Bentley and Helmingham that it is difficult to mention one without the other, but it is with Bentley they are first associated, for this ancient Saxon family owned lands there long before that bloody battle fought between the English and Norman Invaders in the neighbourhood of Hastings which changed the whole aspect of the people.—No. 208 of the *Public Histories of Suffolk Parishes*, published by the Suffolk Chronicle and Mercury, 1930, written by 'Yeoman.'

CHAPTER 3

Edward II to Henry VIII—1330 *to* 1500

JOHN TOLLEMACHE succeeded his father about 1330, bringing to an end the long series of Hughs and Williams. He married Katherine de Gislingham, and her arms are impaled with those of the Tollemaches on two documents at Helmingham, to which her seal is also attached. He made a settlement in 1338, which shows that he owned no other lands outside the Manor of Bentley. He carried out many improvements to the property and built many new houses within the area of the Manor. He provides the earliest details of the Manor House itself, 'the great gateway with a solar above it', and 'a certain chapel'. It may have been his widow who, in 1354, received permission from the Pope to choose her own confessor, 'who shall give her, being penitent, plenary remission at the hour of death'.

He was succeeded by his eldest son RICHARD, who fought under the Earl of Northampton in the wars of King Edward III against the French. His cousins, Sir William and Sir Thomas Tollemache,[1] are both mentioned on the Crécy and Calais Rolls in the 2nd Division under Northampton. They had plenty of friends in that division: Sir Oliver Stratton, who had taken part with the Tollemaches twenty years before in the raid on Belstead, was among the knights, and Sir John Goldingham's son, the owner of Belstead, won his spurs under the Black Prince.

Richard seems to have been so busy in the wars that he did not do homage to the King for his lands until November 1371, when the ceremony took place at Westminster, from which King Edward III's order to the Escheator to give him 'seisin' of his lands is signed and dated. Soon after he was in trouble, being indicted for killing John Bredles of Bentley, but his old commander, Northampton, came to his rescue, interceded for him to the King, and eventually succeeded in obtaining his pardon on the grounds of his good service in the King's wars'. Meanwhile he had married Margaret, the daughter of a neighbour, Sir Richard Waldegrave. There is a seal on a document at Helmingham which bears the arms of the two families.

In 1381 the Peasants' Revolt broke out in Kent under the leadership of Wat Tyler,

[1] William and Thomas Tollemache were knights in Lord Northampton's division at Crécy and Calais, Sir William having served with the King continually until his return to England.

and, inflamed by the preachings of John Ball with his famous slogan of 'When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then the gentleman?', it soon spread to East Anglia and was joined in Suffolk by a considerable number of the gentry, who were only too willing to help the peasants in curtailing the powers of the Church, which was rapidly obtaining a stranglehold on the life of the country.

This East Anglian rising started on 12 June 1381, spreading to Bury St Edmunds and Ipswich. The working classes had begun to form confederate clubs, the prototypes of our trade unions, whose object was to resist with a very strong hand the claims of customary labour from holders of servile lands, which it appears the landlords, owing to the scarcity of labour, were not trying to enforce. A genuine sympathy for the working classes combined with the strong aversion which they held in common with them to the payment of the poll-tax, may account for their giving their active support to the revolutionary party. But the movement was distinctly against their interest as a class. Some, indeed, may have hoped that had success crowned their efforts some change for the better government of the country might have been brought about.

Richard Tollemache and his band seized a man, William Fraunces, in Ipswich, where he was soon after beheaded. John Bettesford, Parson of Bucklesham, we are told took a leading part in the execution, though for what particular reason the execution took place is not related.

John Tollemache of Hawstead took part in the attack on the Abbot's House at Bury, while Richard Tollemache of Bentley was one of the ringleaders in the Ipswich district. Richard's exploits in the rising seem, however, to have been confined to the capture at Ipswich of William Fraunces and the looting of his house at Melton of its 'gold and silver, plate, spoons, wooden cups, belts, rings, sheets and blankets and household utensils, namely, pewter vessels, washing basins, . . . and other goods and chattles to the value of 100 marks'.

Evidently a very thorough clearance. The particular unfairness of this regrettable episode rests in the fact that whereas Richard was included by the young King Richard II in the general pardon, poor William Fraunces was beheaded.

John Tollemache, presumably for his attack against the Church, was especially excluded from the general pardon by the Parliament. Richard lived to a great age and must have been well over eighty when he died on 19 February 1413. There is an extract from his will in a book at Helmingham from which we learn that:

'He desired that his body should be buried in the chancel of his church at Bentley, on the north side of his father. He left 40 shillings to the altar of the said church; to the Vicar of the said church his best garment to celebrate Mass for the safety of the souls of himself, his father and mother, and all his kindred. To the clerk of the said church six shillings and eightpence, to the sexton eightpence, and forty shillings to be distributed among the poor.

'He appointed as his executors Margaret his wife and Richard his son, to whom he

bequeathed all his goods and chattles, movable and immovable, for the payment of his just debts, and to dispose of the remainder as he desired by word of mouth.'

JOHN Tollemache, his son and heir, did homage to King Henry V for the Manor of Bentley on the morrow of Ascension Day 1413. He married a wife, Joan, but had no children, and was succeeded on his death in 1437 by his brother Richard's son, also called John. His other brother, Thomas, saw much service in France, and was quartered for some time in the garrison town of Calais.

Both the brothers married wives of the name of Alice, and it was to one of them 'Aunt Alice Tollemache', that Sir John Stewart bequeathed the old cup which Queen Katherine, wife of King Henry V, had given him on the day of her coronation.

This John Stewart had settled in England and had married Mary Tollemache, lady-in-waiting to Jane Beaufort, daughter of the Earl of Somerset and wife of James I of Scotland. Their direct descendant was Oliver Cromwell's mother, and Lord Kitchener's first recorded ancestor was their steward in 1693. I have read that Mary Talmache went to Scotland as maid-of-honour to Jane Beaufort, wife of James I of Scotland, where James Stewart probably met her, and they seemed to have settled in England after the murder of James I.

John, the new Lord of the Manor, was only sixteen when he succeeded, but he was already married to Isabel, whose family name is not known. He made the official 'proof' of his age in November 1441, and from the evidence taken on this occasion we learn that he was born at Sproughton and baptized the same day; that John Cardinale was one of his godfathers and his godmother was Alice, wife of Robert Doket, who gave him a silver cup and his nurse twenty shillings. On this evidence it was decided by oath of twelve good and lawful men of the county of Suffolk that the said John was aged twenty-one years on the feast of St Nicholas the Bishop last past (6 December 1440).

We know little about this John beyond his disputes with his neighbours, but the times were very disturbed, and some of these quarrels may refer to political differences. It seems probable that he supported the Yorkist side in that bloody and fierce civil war, the Wars of the Roses.

In 1458 his land was taken from him into the King's hands (King Henry VI), but this was not because of his political activities but because, by the jury of a court at Ipswich, he was stated to have enfeoffed two gentlemen who lived on the Manor of Bentley, without first obtaining the royal licence. John maintained that he had succeeded to the Manor as nephew and heir of John Tollemache the elder, and that he had received a pardon from the King in the previous May for 'all intrusions and entrie into his inheritance after the death of his ancestor without due delivery of the same out of the Royal hand'. William Notyngham, Counsel for the King, contended that, in accordance with the finding of the jury, there was no question but that the enfeoffment had been made illegally. John managed to get the matter referred to a second court, this time a local one of 'the men of the neighbourhood of Bentley Copdock', and, very probably owing to local intimida-

tion, the case had to be adjourned several times for want of a jury. Eventually, after the accession to power of King Edward IV in 1461, John was completely exonerated and his possessions were restored to him, since he found a jury to declare that the enfeoffment had never really been made at all; a fact which he had never denied originally. The feudal system seems still to have been paramount in Suffolk.

The pardon to which John referred in his defence is still preserved at Helmingham. It was issued under the Great Seal on 24 May 1458, and included 'all offence committed before 7 December last'.

John was thus for some years deprived of his rightful inheritance, but he compensated himself previously in another direction by forcibly re-acquiring the Little Briset property which had originally belonged to the family and had formed the marriage settlement of Hillary Tollemache. William Norton complained that on 22 January 1454, 'the said John by force and arms—namely, swords, staves, bows and arrows—broke his inclosure and houses at Little Brycet; cut down his trees, namely 50 oaks, 40 ashes, and 40 elms, and his underwoods; cut and carried away his growing grass and corn; and drove off certain of his beasts, namely, horses, oxen, cows, pigs, and ewes'. John's reply was that he had summoned Norton to hand him the property as his family had owned it for six generations. A lawsuit naturally followed, and the jury found in Mr Norton's favour. John at once appealed on the grounds that the jury were perjured, and owing to the sheriff's delays and the apparent impossibility of getting another jury together, the case was adjourned in true fifteenth-century style from term to term for several years. There is no trace in the official records of any decision to the case, but John was eventually left in possession.

The Tollemache family must have been very difficult to defeat in the law courts of their own county.

Another dispute, the decision of which was postponed in the same way, arose in 1468 with Prior of Dodnash, who accused John of driving off his cattle. John always managed to produce some excuse, and this time his defence was that he took them 'in the name of distress for arrears of rent . . . as well he might'. The Prior denied emphatically that he held any land from John for rent, and in this he was perfectly correct, as the Manor of Dodnash had been granted to the Priory 'without any reservation' by John, the son of Hugh Tollemache, in 1353. John must have known this perfectly well, since this particular deed is still among the papers at Helmingham, and must at that time have been resting in his strong-box at Bentley.

John died on 27 May 1477 and was succeeded by his son, another JOHN, then aged twenty-seven. He paid his homage for his lands to King Edward IV in the following year, the week after Trinity Sunday. He married, as his first wife, Anne, daughter of Roger Louth of Sawtrey in Huntingdonshire, by whom it is said he had nine children, of which the eldest was called Lionel, the first of many in the family. She died young, for as early as 1487 John had married Elizabeth, the widow of William Joyce of Helmingham,

South Side

'HELMINGHAM WITH ITS STORIES OF A VANISHED WAY OF LIFE'

North Side

THE GARDEN MOAT AT HELMINGHAM

who died two years previously. William Joyce supported the Yorkists during the Wars of the Roses, and had been appointed a commissioner in Suffolk 'for defence against the King's enemies, French, Easterlings and others'. He was also the commissioner to deal with the question of 'the castles, honours, lordships, etc., belonging to the King by the forfeiture of John, late Earl of Oxford, attainted by an Act of Parliament'.

After his marriage with Elizabeth, John Tollemache and his wife lived at Helmingham, and in 1492 John is described as 'Lord of Helmingham'. Four years earlier he had subscribed with his brother-in-law, Edmund Joyce, £30 towards the building of a new 'Steepyll' for Helmingham Church, and ordered the exact style and pattern as to how it should be built:

'After ye Brede, widenesse and thicknesse of ye Steepyll of Framesden with a black wall wrought of Flynt and as many Tables as ye Steepyll of Framesden, so that it be made after ye Facion of ye Steepyll of Bramston; ye west dore ye lowere west wyndowe, and with a place on eche syde of ye said wyndowe for to seete in an image, and with all ye other wyndowes and Boteraces of ye Steepyll after ye Facion of ye Steepyll of Bramston aforeseyd.' [1]

From the agreement with the mason, Thomas Aldryche of North Sopham, the work was to be 'Fynished and endith withinne the terme of ten years', and no bells were to be hung in the tower for at least four years after the building had been finished. Money had been bequeathed for the bells by William Bird of Helmingham as early as 1461.[2]

Lionel, John's eldest son, made certain of his succession to the Manor of Helmingham by marrying Edith Joyce, the daughter of Edmund, William Joyce's only brother. After this marriage John and Elizabeth moved to Creke's Hall, which became their principal residence; Bentley Manor being used as a separate establishment for the eldest son when he came of age.

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[1] Helmingham church steeple is a square tower of flints embattled on the top. On the south side are the arms of the Tollemaches—three shields of the date 1543, when it was built. On the west side near the ground is an inscription now difficult to trace.

[2] Helmingham church stands on the south side of the Park. It is not known by whom it was built, but it is known to have existed in 1258.

The nave of the church is of the fourteenth century and has a fine south door of the then prevalent style of architecture. The windows as well as the roofs are of about 1540. Both the chancel and the nave are crowded with monuments commemorating the deeds of the family of Tollemache.

CHAPTER 4

Henry VIII to Queen Elizabeth—1510 to 1575

LIONEL, eldest son of John Tollemache of Bentley, succeeded his father in the Bentley and Helmingham Manors in 1510, just after King Henry VIII had come to the throne. He had married Edith Joyce, whose family had owned the Manor of Helmingham for over a hundred years. It was in 1388 that William Joyce, Yeoman of the Black Prince and of his son King Richard II, bought the Manor from the Trustees of the Earl of Suffolk.

Lionel [1] at once started to build the new Hall at Helmingham, of bricks and wattle held together by carved oak beams. He built it round a courtyard, square, spacious, and paved with stone, and surrounded the whole with a sixty-foot moat, crossed at two points by bridges and drawbridges. His boyhood had been spent during the years of a bloody civil war, and the King's own father, Henry VII, had won his throne on the battle of Bosworth Field only some twenty-five years before. Customs die hard in Suffolk and he had discounted the value of gunpowder in warfare. His home at Bentley, which his ancestors had built three hundred years before, was protected by a moat, and he would have the same. He would be proud to know that his Hall, which he built with so much care, has been owned and loved by seventeen generations of his family and descendants, and that his drawbridges are still, to this day, pulled up every night and let down every morning.

Successive owners have made slight alterations in accordance with their personal whims and the fashion of the times, but the beauty and peace of this lovely old house, standing serene in its seven-hundred-acre park, remain unsullied.

A curious feature of Helmingham is that there are two moats, the broad sixty-foot moat protecting the house, and another, narrower but deeper, encircling the garden. Experts and antiquaries disagree as to their origin and uses. Some theorize that the two moats are of a much earlier date than the present buildings, or even of an earlier building of which traces were found when my grandfather, John Lord Tollemache, made various alterations to the house in the middle of the nineteenth century. It is suggested that what is now the garden moat was originally dug for defence of the stables, outbuildings, and

[1] The first of seven successive owners of Helmingham named Lionel.

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the houses of the retainers, and that it was specially fashioned for their protection against invasion and attacks by the Norsemen. In support of this theory, there are other cases of twin moats of the Helmingham type in existence in the eastern counties, but it is believed that none has been discovered elsewhere in England. Another theory is that, in Catholic times, ponds were required to supply the family with fish on fast days, but there are plenty of fishponds in the park, sufficient for all their needs, which were certainly in existence in those days.

Helmingham, since that day, has been the home of the family. Bentley, which had been their home for three hundred and fifty years, was used by the eldest son for a few more generations, until other houses and large estates were added to the Tollemache possessions; but the family interest in their ancient property gradually faded. Slowly, with the passing of time, Bentley was allowed to decay, and all that remains at the present day is one small lovely side with an ugly but well-built Victorian farmhouse at the back. The woods at Bentley are all that remain of the original estate. A spendthrift descendant is reported to have attempted to recoup his fortune by a big bet, in which he staked all that part of the Bentley property over which the plough could go. He lost, and the unploughable woods, which still belong to the family, are the only territorial relic handed down from its early days.[1]

Lionel was wrapped up in the improvement of his estates, but he also took an active part in the affairs of the county. He was a Commissioner of the Peace from 1509 to 1514, and a Commissioner for Gaol Delivery in 1514. (In 1512 his name, with two others, is on the Sheriff Roll, and though Sir Richard Wentworth was appointed Sheriff in that year, Lionel Tollemache held office the one following.) His brother, Robert Tollemache of Otley, and John Goldingham of Belstead, whose family had been friends of the Tollemaches ever since the regrettable raid on their property two hundred years before, were his sureties. Robert had also been surety for Sir Richard Wentworth when Sheriff in the previous year, and later both of them, with Humphrey Wingfield and Alan Goldingham, acted as trustees for the settlement of the Helmingham Manor.

In 1521 Wentworth and Lionel acted with Sir Philip Tilney in an inquiry as to the metes and bounds of the town of Ipswich and the places in which the Corporation claimed to have special liberties. A warrant of 1522 states that William Tollemache, the third brother, was attorney for Wentworth. All this suggests a good deal of intercourse between the families, and it is not surprising that we soon hear of the engagement and marriage of Lionel Tollemache's eldest son, another Lionel, to Sir Richard Wentworth's daughter Dorothy.

This marriage opened up a wider career for young Lionel, as his father-in-law was well known in influential circles, and had spent much time at Court. Sir Richard had accompanied the King both to the Field of the Cloth of Gold (so named owing to the

[1] The manor was purchased in 1895 by the Hon. Stanhope Tollemache, son of the first Lord Tollemache.

extravagant expenditure of both monarchs), and to Gravelines for the interview with the Emperor Charles V. Sir Richard and Lionel the elder were also associated in the furtherance of Cardinal Wolsey's great educational schemes. A letter from the former, written in the early summer of 1528, just before he died, shows that oaks were to be felled at his own place, Nettlestead, and in the woods at Bentley belonging to Lionel, 'for the building of the College at Ipswich'. Two years later we hear from William Capon, who 'entertained Sir Philip Tilney and Lionel Tollemache at supper', and 'on the morrow rode with them to Felixstowe', of Cardinal Wolsey's anxiety about the fate of this foundation.

'I and the Sub-dean of your College in Ipswich', Capon wrote to the Cardinal on 6 July 1530, 'retained the best counsel we could; namely Mr Fairfax, sergeant-at-law . . . Mr Humphrey Wingfield, Mr Baker, recorder of London . . . and Mr Tollemache. They find that the lands of your college were granted unto Your Grace in the fee simple for ever, and by reason of the Premunire have reverted to their first nature with all the circuit of the late Priory of St Peter on which the College was founded. We have no remedy except to petition the King, which we have done, but with little comfort . . . I cannot but perceive that the King intends to take all the said rents to his own use.' His perception was only too correct. The King dissolved the College and seized all its land and possessions.

This was followed by the general dissolution by the King of the smaller monasteries, of which the Tollemache family received their quota. In 1531 Lionel acquired 'the mansion, soil and precinct of St Mary Dodnashe and Charles, with all its lands in Dodnashe, Bergholt, Capell, Bentley, Taddeston, Sutton Holbrooke, Braham, Wenham, Copdock, Stratford, Reydon, Ramsden and Ipswich'.

The Patent Roll also contains a grant of the site of the Priory of Snape to Robert Tollemache, Sir Philip Tilney, and others, but they were most probably acting as trustees for the Duke of Norfolk, who received very large grants from monastic lands. Something like a fifth of the actual land of the Kingdom was transferred from the holding of the Church to the nobles and gentry.

In the north of England the gentry did not take so kindly to the new order, and Norfolk was put in command of an army which marched into Yorkshire and dealt with the insurrection, known as the 'Pilgrimage of Grace,' with ruthless severities. Meanwhile, 'Lionel Tollemache, Thomas Springe and other gentlemen' were appointed by the King to abide in their counties to keep good order in the absence of the rest of the noblemen. A few years later Sir Thomas Wentworth, Sir Anthony and Sir Humphrey Wingfield, and Lionel Tollemache formed a commission to inquire into certain charges against Sir Thomas Tyrell, parson of Gislingham. These were probably accusations of failure to observe the Act of Six Articles passed in 1536 to reaffirm the chief points of religion, which were at that time questioned by the Protestant Party. The younger Lionel Tollemache's wife, Dorothy Wentworth, was a relation of Queen Jane Seymour, and it was

probably through Queen Jane's influence that he became a Gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber. Thomas Cromwell was anxious to secure the support of England for the Protestant Revolution, and, on the death of Queen Jane, proposed that the King should marry Anne of Cleves, the sister-in-law of the Lutheran Elector of Saxony. A great reception was devised for her in 1540. After being met and entertained with great splendour at Calais (which then belonged to England) and delayed for some days by the vagaries of the Channel, King Henry VIII finally received her near Blackheath. Young Lionel was in 'The Kinges owne Traine', and met her as she came riding down Shooter's Hill along a broad way which had been specially made for the occasion by cutting down the bushes and fir trees. The Gentlemen of the King's Privy Chamber were in the forefront of the procession, 'some apparelled in coates of velvet embroidered; others had their coates garded with chaynes of gold very ryche to behold'. Young Lionel had plenty of relations and friends in the procession. Anthony Knyvet, his brother-in-law, was riding with him as one of the Gentlemen of the King's Privy Chamber. Three of the Wingfield family, who were cousins and neighbours in Suffolk, were with the Esquires to the King, and Sir Anthony Wingfield was Captain of the Guard. Sir Thomas Wentworth his brother-in-law, who had been made Lord Wentworth of Nettlestead, and Lord Cromwell, whose grand-daughter was to marry Lionel's grandson, rode with the Barons. Sir Thomas Jermyn, whose niece had married Lionel's son and heir, was with the Duke of Norfolk, who had escorted the Lady Anne of Cleves from Dover. All the arrangements for her meeting with the King had been drawn up with the most meticulous care, and a copy of what the street vendor would now call 'the Official programme and Guide' is still in existence in the Chronicles of Calais.

A position at a Court, so much given up to splendour and extravagance as that of King Henry VIII, must have entailed a considerable amount of expense, and it was possibly for this reason that Lionel raised money for his son in 1539–40 by the sale of Little Briset Manor and the advowson of Newton Church to James Ryvett for 400 marks. He may, however, have determined to get rid of this outlying estate in order to increase the family possessions in Bentley, for four years later he bought the reversion of certain property which had formerly belonged to the monasteries of Butteley and Holy Trinity, Ipswich, and was then held on lease from the Crown.

This property consisted of 'the manor and rectory of Wantysden, County Suffolk, late belonging to the monastery of Butteley, now dissolved, and . . . the manor of Bentley, the rectory and church of Bentley called "le churche house" formerly belonging to the late Priory of the Holy Trinity, Ipswich, and advowsons and rights of patronage of the vicarages of the churches of Wandesden and Bentley, formerly belonging to the said monastery and priory, or to either of them; the manor of Buryhall Willowes and Overhall formerly belonging to the said late Priory of the Holy Trinity . . . the woods, underwoods, and grove in Bentley called Pettelande Grove, containing about ten acres; and the wood, underwoods and grove called Newe Grove containing about

three acres in Bentley; all formerly belonging to the said Priory of the Holy Trinity, Ipswich'.

A few years later, in 1546, Lionel with other Justices of the Peace for Suffolk, announced to the Privy Council 'the apprehension of John Kirby for evil opinion concerning the Sacrament, and was accordingly written to, that at Norfolk's coming down order should be taken touching Kirby and his wife, who was also accused'. Thomas, Lord Wentworth, the younger Lionel's brother-in-law, was the member of the Privy Council who tried and pronounced judgment on Kirby, that he should be burnt at the stake. Lionel, in his capacity as a Justice of the Peace for Suffolk, was an official at the carrying out of the sentence a little later at Ipswich: 'Kerby was fastened to the stake with irons, there being in the gallery the Lord Wentworth with the most part of all the justices of those quarters where they might see his execution, how everything should be done, and also might hear what Kerby did say; and a great number of people about 2,000 by estimation. . . . Lifting up his hands he said the Te Deum and the Belief with other prayers in the English tongue. The Lord Wentworth, while Kerby was this doing, did shroud himself behind one of the posts in the gallery and wept, and so did many others. Then said Kerby, "I have done; you may execute your office good master Sheriff." Then fire was set to the wood.'

Lord Wentworth, who had been staying at Helmingham in March 1549 with his Uncle Lionel and his Aunt Elizabeth Tollemache (the mother of 'Mistris Tilney'), was a strong supporter of Queen Mary from the first, and was one of those appointed to try the Duke of Northumberland's sons and daughters. It was while he was Governor at Calais that the town was lost to the English. It is not easy to say that Lord Wentworth was to blame for this disaster. He had been knighted on the field for gallantry in battle, but as an administrator he appears to have been incompetent. He was so ill-supported by the Government at home that it is very doubtful that he could have saved the situation. Not one of the English fortresses was in a state to stand a siege, or an assault, and their condition was well known to the French, who had boasted as early as 1551 that the taking of Calais would not be more than a week's work. Frequent warning had been sent to London to emphasize the facts, and these arguments were repeated by Lord Pembroke in July when England declared war on France in the Hapsburg quarrel. But his efforts also were fruitless.

The most serious mistake was in throwing away the command of the sea. The French had counted on the disbandment of the British Fleet for the winter, and so were able to transport by water their men and ordnance collected at the mouth of the Somme. Had the marshes been flooded the town might have been saved, but Wentworth had delayed this action for fear of contaminating the water supply of the garrison. On 4 January the bombardment of Calais began, and on 7 January the garrison capitulated. Calais had been lost by the slackness of the home Government, who, on the day of the capture of Ruisbank, had sent Wentworth a letter urging him to defend Calais instead of

sending him prompt and adequate reinforcements. It was not long before reasons of policy were urged for submitting to its abandonment. Cecil doubted whether its possession was worth the cost of maintenance, though we know that Queen Mary said that Calais would be written on her heart.

Lord Wentworth died in 1551, and the younger Lionel as his brother-in-law, and also in his capacity as a member of the Court of King Edward VI, attended the funeral. He was buried with great state: 'The vii day of Marche was bered my lord Wentworth, the lord Chamburlayn of the Kynges howse, in Westminster Abbay, in the same chapell that the old abbatt was berid . . . Mylles Coverdalle dyd preche, and ther was a grett dolle, and a grett company of lordes and knyghtes and gentylmen mourners'.

The elder Lionel Tollemache, who had been in failing health for some years, died at Helmingham on 25 June 1552.

In his will, he left his sister Joan five pounds and his 'tenement nighe unto the churche gate of Helmingham for the terme of her life', and another tenement and a hundred pounds to his younger son Robert. The continuance of the old friendly relations with the Goldingham family is shown by the bequest of ten pounds to Edith Goldingham, his god-daughter and named after his wife. He left ten shillings to every one of his godsons, who seem to have been very numerous, though we cannot assume that the sudden prevalence of his Christian name among the neighbouring families was entirely the result of christenings at which he stood godfather. His servant, William Cornish, was provided with a tenement for life, and his daughters Elizabeth Crapnell and Anne Knyvet received forty and ten pounds respectively. Edmund Talmage of Sproughton and his son, Lionel Tollemache of Bentley, were executors, and the will was witnessed by Thomas Wentworth (son and heir of the Lord Wentworth mentioned above) and Edmund Gosnold.

The elder Lionel had married twice, his second wife being Elizabeth, whose first husband had been Sir Philip Tilney. The date of the marriage is uncertain, but the families had been friends for many years. Lionel and Sir Philip had worked together on county commissions, and as early as 1529 we have found the two being entertained by William Capon and riding on to Felixstowe the next day to transact some business. They were both, as Capon states in a letter to Cromwell, 'of my lord of Norfolk's counsel'. It was in this connexion that the portrait of Princess Mary, painted in 1521, came to Helmingham, for Agnes Tilney, who married the Duke of Norfolk as his second wife, was godmother to the Princess.

Anne Tollemache had married Robert Knyvet, who took part in Norfolk in the agrarian troubles of 1549, and is reported as being 'Slain at Kett's camps' after the sacking of the city of Norwich. While William and Anthony Knyvet, who had been among the leaders of Sir Thomas Wyatt's rising in 1554 against Queen Mary's Roman Catholic policy, had been forced to surrender, and on 'Wenisdaie the XXVIIIth of Februarye went down by water in a bardge towarde Kent to be put to death'. The immediate

result of this insurrection was the condemnation of Lady Jane Grey. Elizabeth Tilney, the youngest daughter of Elizabeth Tollemache by her first marriage, attended her on the scaffold: and after she had 'said the psalme of "Miserere mei, Deus" in English, in the most devout manner, to the end . . . she . . . gave her maiden Mistris Tilney her gloves and handkercher, and her book to master Bruges the Lyvetenantes brother'. Her gentlewoman helped her off with her gown, and gave her 'a fayre handkercher to knytte about her eyes. Then the executioner kneeled downe and asked her forgivenesse, whom she forgave most willingly. Then she sayd "I pray you, dispatch me quickly!" . . . One of the standers-by guyding her thereunto, she layde her heade down upon the block and stretched forth her body and said: "Lorde, into Thy hands I commende my spirite." And so she ended.'

The Tollemaches, though closely connected with the events of the day, lived peacefully at their beloved Helmingham.

The second Lionel Tollemache, who succeeded his father in 1552, in the last year of King Edward VI's reign, relinquished the glamour of the Court and devoted himself to keeping his family estates together during the terrible six years of Queen Mary's reign until the halcyon days of Queen Elizabeth brought back normality to the English countryside. At Helmingham, 'far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife, their sober wishes never learnt to stray' much beyond the boundaries of their immediate neighbourhood. His father had largely increased the family estates, and he started by buying the Manor of Framsden, which in future years was often used as the Dower House of the widows of future heads of the family.

He also 'acquired' the Manor of Sulyards, but this brought him into conflict and a lawsuit with the owner, John Hastings, who accused him of 'keeping from him with force and strong hand the lands mentioned'. The decision of this case is unfortunately not recorded, but Lionel certainly possessed lands on the Sulyards Manor at his death. Just before he died he was embroiled in a sordid and embittered quarrel with his younger son, William, over the heritage of Lampets Manor. William complained that Lionel had 'entysed' his wife, Rose, 'to depart and go from her lawfull husband, and . . . to bring and convey unto the said Lyonell Tollemache . . . all the dedes . . . and wrytyings touching the estate, and had not only wrongfully entered on it, but had spoyled and bereft him of his goods'.

Let us hope that this quarrel ended before he died at Helmingham on 5 December 1571, for he left in his will that Rose, William's wife, was to receive a gown yearly during her lifetime; and he left to William's daughters, Dorothy and Edith, twenty pounds each, 'to be paid at the marriage day, and . . . one trussing-bed, and one newe fetherbed with one newe bolster and pillowe, one new pair blankets, one pair of shetes, and more to buy a coveringe'. William got nothing, but it is clear that he was still living, for the Helmingham receipt book shows that the new head of the family, the third Lionel, paid him a regular allowance of £13 6*s.* 8*d.* a year. This sum was considered

quite sufficient for a younger son in those days, and in addition William owned lands at Framsden, where he lived.

Lionel desired his executors to spend thirty pounds on a tomb for his parents, himself, and his late wife, Dorothy Wentworth, 'hereupon there shall be some graving and scripture for a perpetuall memorie'; and he added by a codicil 'ten pounds upon my tomb more than the thirty pounds before declared'. This expensive monument was to be erected at Helmingham, but the one now in the church is of later date. Possibly the order for the earlier tomb (if it was ever executed) was carried out at Bentley, under the direction of his son and heir, the third Lionel, who had a separate establishment there during his father's lifetime, and was still living there four years after his death.

He bequeathed twenty pounds, 'besides meat and drink', to be spent at his funeral 'for the poor of Helmingham, and another twenty to the poor of Bentley'. His eldest son, Lionel, had married Susan Jermyn, daughter of Sir Ambrose Jermyn, and his daughter had married John Jermyn. Each of their children got five pounds, except the eldest. Each god-daughter received one pound, except Mistress Warner, daughter of Sir Robert Wingfield.

Sir Ambrose Jermyn received 'one hoggeshead of clarutt wyne for his good advice to my said son Lionel', and was made supervisor of the will. The estates were tied up very strictly, and in most of them Lionel was left only a life interest. He complained very bitterly that his father had left him without the power to make suitable provision for his wife should she survive him.

This third Lionel died at Bentley on 11 December 1575, and left Sir Ambrose and Robert Jermyn as guardians to his son and heir, another Lionel, who was only just thirteen. His wife Susan survived him, and within eighteen months married William Springe, who was an old family friend, and is mentioned as a 'cozen' in the will.

CHAPTER 5

Sir Lionel Tollemache, First Baronet, Knight of the Bath

LIONEL succeeded his father in 1575, and married Catherine, daughter of the second Lord Cromwell of Elmham in Norfolk, and grand-daughter of John, Marquis of Winchester.

Of Catherine's activities during the forty years when she nursed and doctored the countryside, with the skill and tenderness which caused her to be so greatly 'missed and lamented in her death', we have no records beyond a letter from Roger Jones, her epitaph, and a receipt book written chiefly in her own hand, but with a few entries, including the name Margaret, in an earlier writing. Probably it had belonged to her great-grandmother, Margery Dentworth, to whom Skelton wrote one of his best-known poems. The most curious of the receipts is perhaps that for an unnamed concoction of precious stones (including 'unycornes horne'), herbs, muscadine, and red rose water; possibly it was a love potion, since it concludes with the direction 'Let him drinke yt'. More ordinary and less expensive are the receipts for preserving quinces and making marmalade, the cinnamon drinks and medical powders. Cheapest of all, no doubt, was the rhymed 'charm to stanche bloud', which must surely have been used with other remedies.

The letter from Roger Jones shows her in a more frivolous aspect; it accompanied a 'Trounke' full of new clothes, and described the fashions for the winter of 1605–6. Even here, perhaps, we may find a suggestion of her practical common sense in the care the dressmaker took to persuade her that though 'your worships opineon be a vardingall sleve becomuthe her better, yett for fashion sake it is mette to have one cut after the new pattern'.

But these were troublous times. Edward, Lord Cromwell, Catherine's brother, was a great friend of the Earl of Essex, whose influence was very strong in East Anglia, and he was with him when, relying on the devotion of the Londoners, he attempted a *coup d'état* in order to remove his political opponents from Queen Elizabeth's confidence. On 8 February 1601 he and his wilder supporters made a tumultuous ride through the unresponsive city, and on the 25th Essex ended his dazzling career on Tower Hill. Cromwell was lucky: he and three other Lords were taken in two barges to the Council at York House by the Lieutenant, where they were told of the greatness of their faults,

and submitted to the Queen's mercy, and were brought back to the Tower. Instead of being beheaded, Cromwell got off with a five-thousand-pound fine.

Two hundred and fifty years later there was brought into the Tollemache possession a portrait by Vandyke of Frances, Duchess of Somerset, daughter of the Earl of Essex, showing her wearing the ear-ring which holds the lock of her father's hair, cut from his head after execution, together with the actual ear-ring itself.

Some three hundred and fifty years later, the families of Tollemache and Cromwell became again connected, when the writer of this book, Edward Tollemache, the direct descendant of Lionel and also heir to Helmingham, married Violet Ridgeway, first cousin to Godfrey, Lord Cromwell, who was also a direct descendant of Lionel's father-in-law.

Lionel's mother had married Sir William Springe, as her second husband, and, when the Spanish Armada appeared off our coasts, he joined his stepfather's band of five hundred men at Tilbury Camp.

'The Spanish Leviathan floating upon our narrow seas, with his huge "invincible" Armado to make an utter conquest of this Island, our supreme authority called the forces of sundry Counties to the fittest places for entertainment of so great a guest. Among others there then marched by commandment of authority unto the Camp of Tilbury in Essex out of this County these bands and Captaines . . . all choice men and disciplined and singularly furnished.'

His mother wrote to him there in her small, neat and exquisitely clear handwriting, a real mother's letter:

'To her loving Sonne Master Tollemache, Esquier, give this. Hast.

'My good Sonne, being desiros to peforme the dewty of a Mother I thought good to wryte these few lynes unto you to understand of your good helthe, as also to let yow understand that both myselve and your daughter Susan are very well; thanks be to god. Now, my goode Sonne, seinge it hathe plesed the lord to chuse yow out amongst the rest to fyght his battell; if it shal plese him to send his enemyes amongst yow, I beseche yow to let me say to yow as the Children of Israel sayd to Josewa, "only be valient and of good courage"; not yt I do fere any want of valour in yow, but the more to stir yow up unto the same, knowing yt yow fyght against enemyes of gods-trewthe, the enemyes of our prins, of our country, and of our lyves. And that yow may the better performe this dewty, good Sonne, lift up your heart unto the lord, bring forth frewts worthy of repentans; promis amendement of lyfe, and performe it; be a diligent herer of his word, and let your lyfe be answerabel to the same. Serve him nyght and day trewly and with a faithful hart; and then cal upon me (sayth the lord) in thy trobell, and I will here the end and thou shalt prayse me; and thow hundreds should fal on the ryght hand and X hundred on the left, yet the Lord is abell, and will no dowte (you holding in his myghty protection) delyver yow out of rage of those wicked miscreante

and filthy idolaters; which yt we may all be delivered from. I beseche the lord of heven and earthe to give us al his spesial grace to pray myghtily unto him for the confounding of these his wecked enemyes, and preserving of his glorious gospell and long and happy days to her mayesty, and last of al peace and quietness to this our land and country; which the lord for his mersis sake graunt unto us. Thus committing you into the hands of almyghty god, I bid yow farewell; not forgetting my harty commendaciouns unto you, with your daughter Susan's, who prayethe yow to pray to the Lord to bles her.

'Fakenham, this xth of Augst.

'Yowr loving Mother

'Susan Springe.'

There is a note at the foot of the letter to the effect that it was written 'in the yeere of our Lorde 1588, by the hands of the virtuous Lady Susan Springe to her sonne Lionel at Tilbury Camp'.

In 1578 Queen Elizabeth made a progress through Suffolk and Norfolk, and it is on this occasion that she is reputed to have visited Helmingham. Whether she ever slept in Queen Elizabeth's bedroom, or whether it was merely prepared for her 'in case', we have no official records, but at least the facts make a firmer basis than the majority of family traditions can show. It is stated that in 1561 Queen Elizabeth visited Helmingham, where she remained from 14 to 18 August, and was sumptuously entertained.[1] She knighted Susan's second husband, William Springe, who was sheriff for that year, presented Susan with the famous lute [2] and Lionel with 'dobble gilts boule with a cover' which he personally entered in his inventory of plate as given him by the Queen. Susan's brother, Sir Robert Jermyn, does not seem to have entertained the Queen on this occasion, but he 'feasted ye French Embassadoures severall times, with which charges and courtesie they stood mervellously contented'.

With reference to Queen Elizabeth's visit to Helmingham and that she stood godmother to one of Sir Lionel's children, there is a story, or shall we say legend, that the child died but that the ceremony took place all the same. There is a picture in the hall, of which an illustration is shown in this chapter, representing four of the children, Susan, Mary and Katherine, and another which appears in a stiff inanimate state; this may have given rise to the legend of which my Uncle Augustus wrote the following verses:

There is a cock and bull story, it is nothing more,
To which a few wise-acres listened,
That the infant had died only one day before
He should have been christened.

---

[1] This is quoted in Neale's *Views of Seats in Suffolk*.

[2] Which is still at Helmingham.

But not to disappoint her Grace
The child was draped in satin and lace,
Then gently laid on the Royal lap
And the christening proceeded without a mishap.

And the Queen said, on leaving, that during her reign
She had acted as sponsor again and again,
But her Helmingham Godchild she felt proud to own,
For so quiet a baby, she never had known.

But gaze as long as you will at the picture
The meaning must still be left to conjecture.

No wonder there was great rejoicing at the birth of Lionel in 1591 on 1 August about twelve o'clock at night, according to the careful record which was made in the parish register, though he was not baptized until the fifteenth of the same month. The cup which stands on the table in the portrait was the gilt christening cup which is mentioned in the inventories.

The second son, Robert, was born in 1592, the year his father was sheriff, but his baptism was a very quiet affair as it occurred only a few days after the funeral of his grandfather, Henry Lord Cromwell. Lord Cromwell bequeathed to his daughter her mother's 'caskenett of goulde', and to his 'sonne Tallemache a young stoud coulte'. His son, Edward Lord Cromwell, was godfather to the youngest of the Tollemache children, Edward, 'baptised 20 june 1596, and born on the 9th of the same month about 4 o'clock in the afternoon'. The cup chosen by young Lord Cromwell for his godson and namesake is minutely described in the inventory of 1597.

It was made 'in fashion of a pear', and the 'wild man climbing upp the stalke' would surely have appealed to the taste of the normal small boy in that adventurous age. Lionel had a precise and business-like mind, as is shown in his careful records of his time, the meticulous inventories of clothes, furniture, and plate, the beautifully drawn up 'boke of my landes yt be measured', and the notes of various claims to be preferred, with the evidence on which they rested and an estimation of the chance of maintaining them.

Lionel's chief trouble at home was with Thomas Wilkinson, the parson at Helmingham, who was an ardent champion of the grievances, real or fancied, of the poorer parishioners. Unfortunately, the living at Helmingham was not in the Tollemaches' gift, and as Wilkinson seems to have held the living for over twenty years, there was plenty of time for quarrels to develop. Wilkinson preached with true Elizabethan vigour, and we are told that he was capable of 'holding the peopll at the chirch untill five o'clock in the afternoons'.

In one of his militant sermons, 'he toke occacion to speake to the owners on the poor' in his 'expossicion of the Salmes' on 28 June 1607, 'and did delever yt the King had sent for a great covetus rych man, such as had diched against heighways, and taken in comons, and has killed a number of pore pepll; an antient man, yt he wold not names; and . . . wox

rothe against men in authoryty and Rych men, calling tem Cormorants'. The allusion to ditching against the highway referred to a contest with Lionel over making of two ditches, with which Wilkinson 'took occasion contynnually to find fault'.

According to Lionel's account the parson riotously approached him, on Easter Monday, with regard to this subject, 'saying that if it (the second ditch) wer som place it should be cast downe againe in despight of my teeth'. This probably refers to the ditch which now runs along the edge of the park not far from the church.

During the Middle Ages the Statute of Winchester ordered that the highways should be bordered on each side by a wide margin, and kept clear of underwoods and bushes for the space of two hundred feet, in order not to afford cover for footpads. For the same reason it was enacted that there should be no ditch within two hundred feet of the road, wherein men might lurk, though 'such a wall, ditch or hedge as malefactors could not pass' was allowed in places where a park came near the road.

If the lord of the park could not provide such an obstacle, he was supposed to diminish his park by the space required. Subsequently, grazing rights over the grassy margins thus formed were allowed, and many of these roadside commons still exist in Suffolk; but during the sixteenth century it became a frequent practice for the great landlords to inclose the portions nearest their land. No doubt Lionel had directed the ditches to be made for the purpose of some such inclosure, so it is not surprising that the parson, in his rôle as champion of the poor, should have felt compelled to call his attention to the 'proclaimation against those that do take in the highways and comons, and would have no comons'.

As early as 1603, on the accession of King James I, it had been proposed that Lionel should be knighted, and his name appears in a list of those 'to be made Knights of the Bath' which is among the manuscripts at Longleat. However, he did not actually receive this knighthood until 24 May 1612, when he had already been created a Baronet.

In 1611 the creation of the first baronetcies was being discussed, and Lionel, by his correspondence, was anxious not to be overlooked. Finally he received good news from his cousin, William Strode, who was a friend of Lord Northampton:

'My very good Cosn,

'. . . Ther ar sealed twenty and two patents, the names of them you shall see in the end of this letter; and as they stand in ther places, as I am credibelly informed . . . his Lordship saith he hath don his best for you. The patents are not as yet delivered to any, for I doe learn that the parties must cum upp to give security for the payment of the two other payments. . . . So I committ you to God and rest

'Your assured Loving cosn

'William Strode.

'London this friday morning.

'To the Right Worshipful Lionel Tallmach Esq at his Howse,

'Helmingham, Suffolk, geve these with speed.'

A list of the proposed baronets was included, of whom the first was Sir Nicholas Bacon and the twelfth was Lionel Tallmach. Eventually only eighteen of the twenty-two were chosen, and these were created on 22 May 1611. Lionel went up to London in June to give his security for his baronetcy, and in May of the following year he was also in London, when he was made a Knight of the Bath at Whitehall; but he did not long enjoy his honours, for he died on 5 September and was buried at Helmingham the same day.

It was during his life that the collection of family private letters and correspondence first began, as opposed to the family deeds, wills, and official correspondence, which began in 1195.

In his will, dated 27 August 1605, he gave careful directions for his funeral; forty pounds to be spent on mourning, and there was to be a special sermon at Bentley, for which the preacher should be given forty shillings. Twenty pounds to be distributed at his funeral among the poor of Helmingham, and a like sum on the following day to the poor of Bentley. He gave directions that his executors 'within two yeares at the furthest next after my decease shall bestow the somme of one hundred marks of good and lawfull money of England upon a Tombe . . . in the pariche churche of Helmingham . . . for myself and for my Ancestors there buried before, whereupon I will there shall be some gradinge and scripture for a perpetuall memory'.

The work was duly carried out by Nicholas Stone, being one of his earliest commissions. The kneeling figures represent himself, his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather.[1]

Local legend states that the monument was first set up in Bentley Church, and was transported from there to Helmingham at a later date, a large portion of the wall of the church having to be taken down to allow it to pass through. In view of the explicit terms of Sir Lionel Tollemache's will, this would seem to be very improbable, but the legend may refer to an earlier tomb.

The 'scripture' desired by Sir Lionel took the form of rhymed couplets, of no very high order, either as verse or history:

Baptised Lyonell: Tallemache my Name,
Since Normans Conquest of unsouled ffame,
Shews my Descent from Ancestors of Worth,
And that my Life might not belye my Birth
Their virtuous Track with Heedful Steps I trod
Rightfull to man Religious towards God,
Train'd in ye Law I gain'd ye Bar and Bench
Not bent to kindle Strife but Rather quench,
Gentle to Clients, in my councils just
With Norfolk's great Duke in no little trust.

---

[1] Lionel Tollemache of Bentley.

Sir Joice his Heir was my Fair faithfull Wife,[1]
Bentley my seat and seventy years my Life.

Heir of my Fathers Names Sr. Name & seat,
Lands, goods & Goodness towards Small & great,
By Heavens Dear Blessing on my dow indeaver
In his fair footsteps did I well persever,
Among the best, above the most Admired
ffor all the Parts my Race and Place Requir'd
High Sheriff once of Suffolk and Norfolk twice
In both approved right Gentle Just and Wise
ffrank House, ffrank Heart, ffree of my Purse and Port
Belov'd and Loving towards every Sort
Lord Wentworth's Daughter was my Loving Phere
And ffourscore (six less) liv'd I Pilgrim here.

My Stile & State (least any Question should)
My Sire and Grandsire have already told
My ffame and ffortune not unlike to their's
My Life as fair as Human ffraility Bears,
My Zeal to God, my Love to every Good
My Saviour knows, his Saints have understood
My many virtues, Morall and Divine
My Liberall Hand, my Loving Heart to mine
My Piety, My Pitty, Pains and Care
My neighbours, Tenants, Servants yet Declare
My Gentle Bride Sir Ambrose Jermyn Bred
My years lack ffive of half my Grandsire's Thread.

Here with his ffathers Sleeps Sir Lyonell
Knight Baronett all Honours Worthy well;
So well the Acts of all his Life Exprest
His Elders Virtues and excelled their Best
His prudent bearing in his publick place
Suffolks High Sheriff twice in 16 years space.

His Zeal to God and towards ill severity
His temperance, His Justice, His Sincerity
His Native Mildness towards Great and Small
His ffaith and Love to ffriends, Wife, Children all,
In Life & Death made him belov'd and Dear
To God and Men: Happy in Heaven and here:

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[1] In a MS book at Helmingham, in which these verses are quoted the lines 'Before ye Normans into England came Bentley was my seat & Tolmache was my name' are added after 'seventy years my Life'. These lines do not, however, appear on the tomb, but seem to be an addition made by the fourth Earl of Dysart.

CATHARINE, LADY TOLLEMACHE, WIFE OF FIRST BARONET, DAUGHTER OF THE SECOND LORD CROMWELL

Original portrait at Helmingham

THE CHILDREN OF THE FIRST BARONET

Original picture at Helmingham

Happy in Soul, in Body, Goods and Name;
Happy in Wedlock with a Noble Dame,
Lord Cromwell's Daughter; Happy in his Heir,
Whose Spring of Virtues Sproutts so young, so fair
Whose dear affection to his ffounders Debtor
Built tem this Tomb but in his Heart a Better.

CHAPTER 6

Sir Lionel Tollemache, Second Baronet, Vice-Admiral for Suffolk

SIR LIONEL succeeded his father as second Baronet. Catherine, his mother, had been left the Manor of Framsden for her life, together with 'Sowthwood and Bassam, Welland and Birdes, Tyes and Bushie Close, and the longe meddowe at the end thereof and Pernes Hills in satisfaction of her dower'. She was also to have 'all her jewels, my golde chaine being worth one hundreth marks onlie excepted'. His two brothers received annuities, Robert's being sixty pounds and Edward's fifty pounds, with power of restraint, however, as soon as they came of age. One legacy, which must have been particularly annoying to Lionel, was that of his father's best gelding to his brother-in-law, Drake Playters.

The young baronet married an heiress, Elizabeth,[1] eldest daughter of John, Lord Stanhope of Harrington, Treasurer of the Chamber. She brought into the Tollemaches' possession the Harringtons' large Northamptonshire estates with their fine house and grounds. Her eldest son died in infancy and was buried at Helmingham on 28 September 1616.

Elizabeth seems to have had a great family feeling, if the number of portraits of her kinsfolk at Helmingham can be regarded as evidence.[2] Among them is the portrait in the dining-room of a man standing beside a tree with withered leaves and lopped branches—on whom a blasting wind blows fiercely from the sinister top corner. Beneath is written, 'cut is the branch that might have grown so straight'. This is the portrait of the younger Henry MacWilliam, brother of Lady Stanhope of Harrington, the last male representative of his family, who was killed in a duel 'upon an old quarrell' with Thomas Compton in 1599.

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[1] Elizabeth's great-aunt, Anne Stanhope, was the second wife of the Protector Somerset, and she was, therefore, a cousin of Edward, Lord Beauchamp, and William Seymour, afterwards Marquis of Hertford and Duke of Somerset. The portrait of William Seymour's wife Frances, daughter of the ill-fated Earl of Essex, and some of her personal possessions came to the Tollemache family at a later date; but the families were on friendly terms during the reign of Charles II, and the friendship continued for more than a generation. The cypher correspondence carried on during the Commonwealth by Lionel's daughter-in-law and her sisters with their friends in exile contains the names of Lady Stanhope and the Marquis of Hertford, and his grandson used to address the Duke of Somerset as cousin.

[2] There are pictures of her grandmother, Mary MacWilliam, of the unknown lady in the dining-room, who is probably Mary MacWilliam's sister, and of Richard le Hunte (died 1540), whose portrait is in the library at Helmingham.

'My Lord Compton's brother and Mr Mackwilliams rode to the fielde with short swordes and joynadoes, where Mackwilliams receaved many deadly woundes and in the place dyed, lying there 24 howers before he was found. Compton also is sore wounded and in danger.' Compton and his friends seem to have behaved with great inhumanity.

Lionel was executor to the will of Sir Michael Stanhope, Elizabeth's uncle, and he was left 'my velvet gown laid with gold lace and furred with sables, and my damask gown laid with gold and black silk lace', and to Lady Tollemache 'one of my great gilte bowles'; while their daughter, also called Elizabeth, who (as we learn from the will) was Sir Michael's god-daughter, received an annuity of twenty pounds. Sir Lionel, as executor, made a careful inventory of Stanhope's property, a document preserved at Helmingham.

A few years later a dispute arose between Sir Lionel and Sir William Withipole, husband of Lady FitzWalter, Sir Michael Stanhope's elder daughter, who became a widow at eighteen. Heiresses married young in those days. In 1613 Lord FitzWalter had 'married Sr. Michael Stanhope's elder daughter with assurance of £2,000 land; "and because they are both young (she not above 12 yeares old) he goes shortly to travel" '; while the younger sister was married at an even earlier age to Lord Berkeley.

In February 1629 a ship laden with masts was driven ashore on the north side of Orford Ness, of which Withipole had become Lord of the Manor through his marriage. Sir Lionel Tollemache, as Vice-Admiral for the County of Suffolk, ordered his Marshall, William Bardwell of Aldborough, to take the wreck into the King's hands and 'to make present seizyure of such masts as he shoulde finde in the hands of any person whatsoever within the County of Suffolk', if those masts had belonged to the ship's cargo. Sir William Withipole then brought an action in the Court of King's Bench against Bardwell, claiming that some of the masts which had been seized belonged to him, as wreck of the sea within the bounds of his manor. Sir Lionel naturally supported his Marshall, and wrote to Edward Nicholas, Secretary to the Lords Commissioners for the Navy, on his behalf, asking him to 'procuer him what favour and assistance may bee from ther Lordships, that he may gooe one the more cherefully'. If his own 'occation had not been such that he could not possibly move from home, he added, he would himself have come up to Town; yf wee be not well backed on this sute, I assur you the viseadmyralty of Suffolk will be nothing worth'.

The profits of the office were, in fact, very small; Sir Lionel's share of those made between 23 August 1628 and 27 November 1629 amounted to three pounds and tenpence halfpenny, so it is not surprising that he protested 'yf my Lord Martiall and Sir Willm Withipoll shall recover the admyrall jurisdiction of Aldborowe and Orford, I maye be well spared of the labour for accounting'.

Henry Dade, the Judge of the county vice-admiralty, took the matter up, and in a letter written from Ipswich on 10 June 1630 suggested that a letter from the Lords Commissioners would 'daunt Sir Wm Withepoll that he make noe further clayme unto the maistes in which he doth pretend interest . . . whereof if the goodes were sold without

letters from there lordshippes I beleeve that Sir Wm Withepoll would disturb the sale'. His support of Sir Lionel does not seem entirely disinterested, for he added a request that he might be made a commissioner for the sale, alleging that unless he had some means of securing his portion of the profits, Sir Lionel would defraud him of it.

There is no evidence to support this unkind accusation, but we know that Sir Lionel did not always find it easy to secure his share, for in 1638 he sent a petition to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, showing that 'about two yeares since, there being a shipp with some goods driven on shoore near Parksted . . . the same was siezed by the Judge and other officers of the viceadmyraltie, and since, by decree of the high courte of Admyraltie, soulde as peritura, and the money retourned into that courte . . . three hundred and thirtie pounds, the moyetie whereof he humblie conceiveth doth belong to your petticoner by virtue of his saide office'.

Sir Henry Martin, Judge of the Admiralty, gave his opinion in favour of Sir Lionel, so we may hope that the Vice-Admiral received some solid compensation for the vexations of his office.

It seems strange at a time when his duties must have involved a good deal of business with the various ports of Suffolk, and with the Judge of the Vice-Admiralty, who appears to have lived at Ipswich, that Sir Lionel should have moved to Fakenham, about ten miles from the north coast of Norfolk. This move seems to have taken place about 1625, for John, Sir Lionel's second son, and all the children who followed (he had eleven altogether) were baptized there.

Helmingham was not dismantled, for we have an inventory taken in October 1626 of 'all suche Household stuffs as was there remayneinge'. Several notes, made at a later date in the margin of this inventory or pinned on to its pages, show us that of this stuff some was subsequently taken to Fakenham on different occasions.

'One frenche greene cloath cloake without cape or Lyneinge', which had been left 'in the neue Wardrape' in October 1626, was 'broughte from Helmingham to ffakenham Auguste the 7th, 1628', and 'afterwards, as I remember, made into chaires and stooles'. Another undated note states that 'vi cusheings of Orris, iii of them with pomegranetts and th'other with a roose', have been 'packed up to be sent unto ffakenham', and 'ii other great cuhions of orris worke all of them with golde, one small long cushion imbroydered, one other little long cushion of brantched velvet unfilled, one longe cushion of whit taffata Imbroidered with . . . velvet and backed with orange tawny and purple taffate', and 'one other longe cuchion of yellowe damaske Imbroidered with purple velvett, backed with silke chamlett in divers colours', originally left at Helmingham, were all 'now at Faknam'.

The careful account taken of the property is further shown by the note: that, of two old sacking pillow-cases, one has since been used to patch bedding, that one of 'iii olde blacke beaver hatts' has been 'given to Will Runn,' that 'one paire of goold hangers lyned with crimson Velvett' was 'given to Petrson' and Mr Jermy 'hadd the girdle' of

SIR LIONEL TOLLEMACHE, SECOND BARONET (1591 – 1640)
GODSON TO QUEEN ELIZABETH

Original portrait at Peckforton

THE TOMB OF THE SECOND BARONET. HELMINGHAM CHURCH

another 'paire of hangers imbroidered with goold Lyned with mouse dunn velvett'. The most interesting of all these marginal notes is that which tells that 'ii great peaces of birde worke curteynes with Ringles used in my Lady's Chamber' were afterwards 'at Fakenham in the best chamber, broughte thether against my daughter Alington's lying in of her first child'.

This daughter, named Elizabeth, after her mother, had been married at Fakenham in 1630 to William, afterwards Lord Allington. The portrait of a fair-haired little lady, in rose-coloured and white frock trimmed with gold lace, hanging in the hall at Helmingham, is said by family tradition to represent her, and was certainly painted about the time of her marriage. Her child proved to be a son, and was baptized Giles in Fakenham Church on 11 April 1633; he was not more than a year older than his Aunt Bridget, the youngest of the eleven children of Sir Lionel, whose baptism is recorded in the Fakenham register under the date 3 July 1634.

A double wedding took place at Fakenham on 19 November 1637, when Katherine was married to Charles Mordeunt, who succeeded to a baronetcy in the following year, and Susan, the last of the children to be born at Helmingham, and who was only just sixteen, to Sir Henry Felton.

All this suggests that Fakenham had become at that time the principal family seat, but it is nevertheless clear that Helmingham was not unvisited or let to strangers. Possibly Robert Tollemache, Lionel's brother, and his son Ptolemy, who was afterwards trustee for the estates, may have lived in the house and kept it open for the visits of the family. Robert was Escheator for the County of Suffolk, and his portrait is in the dining-room at Helmingham.

Probably Sir Lionel had been staying there in July 1640, when he rode into Ipswich and there 'heard of a scandulous paper, with the Newe book of Canons, which was nayled together, in the market-place ther, uppon the pillory as sume reported it'. Of this paper he procured a true copy, which he forwarded to Archbishop Laud, with a letter of explanation. 'It was doone on Thursday night last,' he wrote, 'and as I heard, it was seen nayled on, by an appoticary of Doctor Griffens, and whoe pulled it doune, and Carryed it to the Baylyes of the Corporation whom I heare desirs to bee Deputy liftenante agayne within themselves which bredes a great inconvenience to the County, and makes them so insolent.' It seems probable from Sir Lionel's activity in this matter that he belonged to the Laudian party, of which his son was afterwards a supporter. There is a picture of Laud in the library at Helmingham. He was made Archbishop of Canterbury by King Charles I. He attempted to impose a ritualistic and High Church regime on a people who had comparatively recently returned to Puritanism, and was tried for high treason and beheaded four years after Sir Lionel's letter.

Sir Lionel did not live to see the troubles which were coming upon the Church, and this must have been one of the last occasions on which he was concerned with public affairs. He died at Helmingham, after a short illness, on 6 September 1640, only five

months after his mother-in-law, Lady Stanhope, whose burial certificate he had signed on 21 April. She 'departed this mortall life at her howse at Charing-Crosse called Stanhop howse on Tuesday the seaventh day of Aprill 1640; from whence she was honourably convayed to the parish church of St. Martins in the fieldes and buried in the Chancell neer her Lord'. Sir Lionel had bought Stanhope House some years before.

The family records for the years immediately preceding the Civil War, and during the war itself, are extremely scanty; but we learn from the registers that further sorrows fell on the household at Fakenham in 1641, when three of the little girls died within a few weeks. The following 15 December saw, however, another wedding, when Anne Tollemache, within two months of her twenty-third birthday, was married to Robert Broke, who was created a baronet in 1661 on the accession of King Charles II. The next wedding in the family was that of his son, Sir Lionel, to Lady Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the first Earl of Dysart.

NOTE.—Sir Lionel Tollemache second Baronet was member of the Privy Council in the reigns of James I and Charles I.

CHAPTER 7

Sir Lionel Tollemache, Third Baronet, Ranger of Richmond Park

SIR LIONEL, the third Baronet, added the Surrey manors of Ham and Hatch to the Tollemache estates by marrying Lady Elizabeth Murray, eldest daughter of William Murray, first Earl of Dysart. William Murray had been Charles I's Whipping-boy, a post secured for him by his uncle Thomas, the Provost of Eton, Charles I's tutor. His early sufferings for royal misdeeds were rewarded with an Earldom and the manors of Ham and Hatch (1643).

The office of 'Whipping-boy' was much coveted by prudent parents for their sons, for although the boy was beaten for the faults committed by the Prince, the appointment always led to the advancement of the sufferer. In William Murray's case the Whipping-boy was rewarded early and was created Earl of Dysart in the County of Fife and Baron Huntingtower of Huntingtower in Perthshire on 3 August 1643, with the grant of the Manors of Ham and Hatch. He was very insinuating but had a revengeful temper. He had the fortunate quality that when he was drunk 'he was upon a most exact reserve'.

Murray was useful to the Queen as well as to the King, and in one of her letters she alluded to the services rendered by 'littel vil Murray'. He married Katherine Bruce, daughter of Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan, by whom he had five daughters but no sons, and on his death in 1651 the Dysart title passed (being a Scotch Earldom) in the female line to his daughter Elizabeth, wife of Sir Lionel Tollemache of Helmingham.

William joined King Charles II in exile in 1650, and tried to persuade him to return to Scotland. He afterwards lived at Antwerp and died there four years later. Luckily for the Tollemaches he had the forethought on the eve of Civil War to hand over his Ham House property to his wife, Katherine. Nevertheless, the Commissioner sequestered the estate, and it was not until after Katherine's death and through a petition of Sir Lionel that in 1651 the Committee issued an order 'that the Tollemaches enjoy Ham House, and the Trustees the rents of the other premises according to their trust'.

With the exception of two accounts for the billeting of Fairfax's army on Sir Lionel's Suffolk estates at Cretingham and Framsden in 1646 the family papers for the period of the Civil War have disappeared. Sir Lionel himself suffered from ill-health and was very delicate, which may have prevented him from taking an active part in the war, but

his family, and that of his wife, were ardent royalists. His aunt Anne Tollemache's husband, Robert Gosnold, commanded for the royalists a Landguard Fort in the Isle of Wight; her son fought at Carlisle and in the defence of Oxford, and was the Governor when he watched the King escape in disguise at three o'clock in the morning, and called a last farewell to 'Harry', as he passed over Magdalen Bridge. Robert Gosnold was one of the royalist officers who signed a protest against the surrender of the city. Anne's husband was fined £500—equal to £3,500 of the present day—as a delinquent in arms against the Parliament, and after his death, she and her son lived at Otley, near Helmingham, where their names often occur among the lists of guests.

Sir Charles Mordaunt, who had married Katherine Tollemache, Sir Lionel's sister, took up arms for the King at the outbreak of the Civil War. His whole estates were sequestered and he died in poverty.

The husband of his other sister, Elizabeth Tollemache, was Lord Alington, also an ardent royalist. After his death, she married Sir William Compton, whom Cromwell described as a sober man and a godly cavalier, and Pepys as 'one of a thousand, nobody speaking ill of him'. He fought for the King at Edge Hill, and command at Banbury Castle, one of the last fortresses to hold out for the royalists. In their marriage settlement he had agreed that Elizabeth's estates should be kept entirely separate, so when the question of sequestration arose, Sir Lionel Tollemache was able to testify on his behalf: 'that as touching his wife's, my sister's estate . . . in Law he hath nothing to do with it, neither knows he, I am confident, what it is'. He adds that through her remarriage she had lost a settlement of two hundred pounds a year from her first husband, 'a very great wast', as he rather untactfully calls it. There is no indication that, with the exception of Ham House, which was subsequently returned to the family, any other of the Tollemache estates was ever sequestered, and during the Commonwealth and Protectorate Sir Lionel apparently continued to live for the most part at Fakenham, though he travelled abroad sometimes and made frequent visits to London. On such occasions he usually stayed at the White House, Charing Cross, which his father had bought from the Stanhopes, but about 1654 he moved to Covent Garden, then a fashionable square of new houses designed by Inigo Jones.

It was probably during these visits that Lady Tollemache formed her acquaintanceship with Oliver Cromwell, which was very naturally the cause of much distrust among certain members of the extreme royalist party. She was 'said to be very powerfull favourite', and was even accused of being his mistress, but there seems to be no good contemporary evidence of such a fact. It is of family interest, however, that over the mantelpiece in the library at Helmingham there is a portrait of Oliver Cromwell, which has been there since those days. In all the rumours at the time, it was never suggested that she used her supposed influence with the Protector for any other purpose than that of obtaining more lenient terms for royalist prisoners.

Lady Tollemache's father died in exile in 1654, a year after Cromwell had become

Protector, and she became the Countess of Dysart in her own right, her second title of Lord Huntingtower going to her eldest son, another Lionel Tollemache.

During the period of King Charles II's exile, the family were closely connected with the Committee of the 'Sealed Knot', of which Sir Lionel's brother-in-law, Sir William Compton, was a member, and with which Lord Maynard, the husband of his youngest sister, Margaret, was closely connected. This constituted a secret committee to whom the King had entrusted the management of his affairs in England, the other members being Lord Belasyse, Lord Loughborough, Sir Richard Willys, Colonel John Russell, and Colonel Edward Villiers.

Inside the glass case at Helmingham, which contains Queen Elizabeth's lute, are two letters written by Charles II from Paris in 1654. They are addressed to a lady whom the King describes only as Madam, but who no doubt was the Duchess of Lauderdale.

Colonel John Russell, a younger brother of the Earl of Bedford, was an old friend of the family. As a young man he sat with Dysart and Prince Rupert to Dobson for a portrait of boon companions at Oxford.

At the time of Oliver Cromwell's death Lady Dysart was in Paris, where the family had many friends, and Scots were welcome at the Court of Queen Henrietta Maria. She returned home immediately; her great friend, Lord Inchiquin, escorting her as far as the boat at Dieppe. Her friendship with Cromwell had allowed her to keep up constant correspondence with her friends in exile without coming under the suspicion of the Government, but after his death her letters and those of her sisters were regularly intercepted. Historically this has been a great help, as it is due to this fact that we owe most of our knowledge of her activities during the critical time between the death of Oliver Cromwell and the Restoration.

The letters of the family are generally written in code, alluding to journeys, petitions, mortgages, goods, money, etc. There was also a special code for persons and places, that of Lady Dysart being usually 'Mrs. Grey', while that of Sir Lionel's brother-in-law, Compton, was 'Lawton'. All the intercepted letters are endorsed by Secretary Thurloe, who was a very efficient chief of the government intelligence department to both Oliver Cromwell and his son. He apparently found little difficulty in breaking the code, and nearly all the letters are endorsed by the interceptor as 'Not sent at all'. The accommodation addresses to which they were sent in England are intriguing:

'Leave this with Mr. Octavian Pullen att the signe of the Rose in pauls churchyeard. Londres.'

'For Mrs. Gray at Sir Edward Fordes house, in the middle piatzo, Covent Garden, a Londres.'

'For Mr. John Jackson, next doors to the Horshue Tavern, Drury lane', 'My lady Newport's house in Lyncolns in fields, London', was also a favourite address.

Against the strong advice of the 'Sealed Knot' several abortive risings were planned and attempted by the hotheads of the royalist party. By the summer of 1659 these

intrigues were at their height, and a general rising was planned. The 'Sealed Knot', however, managed to get a postponement on the grounds that recruits would not come in readily until after the harvest, as they could earn 2*s.* 6*d.* a day in the fields. Sir Lionel, who was in touch with their policy, used his influence in Suffolk to curtail the enthusiasm of the foolhardy, and presided at many meetings of the conspirators at Helmingham.

Meanwhile, the energies of his wife, Lady Dysart, were being curtailed by the advent of another child, and in July the future Duchess of Argyll was born at Fakenham, and was baptized Elizabeth. The momentary effect of this on her exuberant nature made her write, 'I am bisie att my worke and booke, which plentifully delights me . . . I desire to settel in Suffolk perhaps for my life, so that itt will not so much concerne me as others what the world does'.

These resolutions did not last long, for her correspondence with the Court abroad starts again in a very few weeks.

Sir Lionel Tollemache was in the close circle of the Prudentialists, which, as the name implies, consisted of those royalists who were against any precipitate action unless it presented a warrantable chance of success. They were unpopular among the hotheads, the ringleader of whom was Mordaunt, who wrote to King Charles, 'Indeed, Sir, these are a sort of men that will have their interest and security provided for, before they will act'. But the King's other friends took a saner view. Mr John Barwick wrote to the King on behalf of Sir Lionel Tollemache and Lord Bruce:

'October 14, 1659.

> '. . . I was at the Baronet's house I mentioned in my last (whom I now understand your majesty hath had some account of by Mr. Cholmley) [1] whither my Lord Bruce came at the same occasion . . . my lord hath the same interest, affections and resolutions to serve your majesty which he had . . . and the baronet is firmly fixed to join interest with him.'

Even in February 1660 Mordaunt and his hotheads were still dreaming of a revolt, but the stream of loyalty was rising fast, and Pepys had noticed that everybody drank the King's health 'without any fear, whereas before it was very private that a man dare do it'. Rumbold reported that 'the City are generally for having the business done by a Parliament rather than a war'. It was a triumphant vindication of the wisdom of waiting for the development of public opinion, and of the wise policy of the members of the 'Sealed Knot', and of the more prudent circle of royalists who revolved round the Tollemache family. Their dream of a bloodless Restoration was on the eve of fulfilment. Parliament deputed a number of peers and commoners to invite the King to come over, and on 6 May, 'after a health to his Majesty' on board, Sir William Compton, Lionel's brother-in-law, sailed with the company in the *Assistance* to bring him home. Pepys

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[1] He was Sir Lionel's brother-in-law, having married his sister, Jane Tollemache, at Fakenham in 1650.

tells us in his diary that he carried a letter from Admiral Montague to the King, to be given privately to Sir William to take with him.

On 29 May 1660 'His Majestie Charles II came to London, after a sad and long exile. . . . The wayes strew'd with flowers, the bells ringing, the streetes hung with tapistry, fountaines running with wine; the Mayor, Aldermen, and all the Companies in their liveries, chaines of gold, and banners; Lords and Nobles in cloth of silver, gold and velvet; the windowes and balconies well set with ladies; trumpets, music, and myriads of people flocking . . . they were seven houres in passing the Citty, even from 2 in the afternoon till 9 at night. I stood in the Strand and beheld it and bless'd God', wrote John Evelyn in his diary. 'And all this was done without one drop of bloud shed, and by that very army which rebell'd against him.'

Sir Lionel was there to see it, and had gone to the expense of buying a new saddle and a 'payer of reanes' for the purpose.

The time had come for our little group of royalists to be rewarded for their services and compensated for their losses.

Sir Lionel Tollemache was granted the Rangership of Richmond Park, which was very convenient to his house at Ham, but a post which he subsequently discovered to be an expense rather than an emolument. His wife, Lady Dysart, was granted 'one annuity or Pencon of eight hundred pounds by the yeare to be payed her out of the receit of Exchequer during her life by fower equal payments from the feast of the Annunciation last'. The amount of the grant, even when all allowances have been made for King Charles's easy good nature and extravagance, is enough to suggest that her services in his cause were considerable.

Sir William Compton was made a Privy Councillor and Master of the King's Ordinance, while Colonel Russell, the great family friend, was given command of the Grenadier Guards.

These troublous times are commemorated in the family by the portraits of Kings Charles I and II, Queen Henrietta Maria, Lord and Lady Maynard, Alington, Compton, and Russell, which hang in the Long Gallery at Ham, with many others of the period. Another interesting picture of the time is of King Charles II being presented by Rose, the gardener, with the first pineapple grown in England.[1]

A year before the Restoration Lady Dysart had wanted to 'settle in Suffolke, perhaps for life'; however, when the time came, the attractions of the Court proved too much for her. 'To such temptation', said her husband, 'few women are profe', and she found the amenities of Ham House more attractive. It was also conveniently close to the park of which Sir Lionel Tollemache was Ranger. Ham had remained practically unchanged since it was first built in 1610, and she enlarged it considerably and re-arranged the rooms. 'Her bed-chamber was magnificently furnished—the curtains of crimson damask

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[1] See illustration, facing page 69.

bordered with heavy fringe and gold drops—the bed and quilt were the same. At the top of the bed were wooden cups at each corner filled with upright feathers—the blankets were of Scotch plaid as well as white wool and the sheets of fine linen from Holland.'

As years went on, Sir Lionel's health, never very good at the best of times and undermined by the stormy years in which he had lived, grew worse, and he spent much of his time abroad. At that time there was a certain amount of gossip involving his wife with the Earl of Lauderdale, Secretary of State for Scotland, but as his letters from abroad show, there was no estrangement between the two. His only complaint is of the infrequency of her letters, and his surprise if he does not hear from her for three or four posts; but the post to Paris went on Mondays and Thursdays only, and the frequent miscarriage of letters in the seventeenth century was notorious.

He wrote to her from Bourbon, where he had gone in August and September 1668 accompanied by his nephew, William Lord Alington:

'My deare,

'I have not heard from you these 3 or 4 posts, I can not guesse at the reasone, since my Lord (Maynard) never fayles; all though I seldom heare from you, yet I heare of you by my Systers letters, which is some satisfaction. . . . The doctor is of opinion that I ought not to drinke the waters againe. I am well I blesse God as ever I was, and doe beginn to growe fatt against that time I would have my Sonne meete me at Paris. I writt you wourd in my last about a gardener, but he is nowe resolved he will not goe into Ingland. The Abbot with whom I live hath two very good pictures which he would sell . . . I wish I knewe how Mr. Lilly esteemes two such pictures as I have described them. My Lord (Alington) doth recover, but not so fast as wasse expected.

'A Dieu.'

The improvement in Sir Lionel's health was only temporary, and in the late autumn he fell ill again. He writes to his wife on Christmas Day:

'Paris. Jour de Noel.

'My deare, I writt to you by the last post a longe letter, considering the weake condition I was in, I blesse God I am something better. Yesterday I took the eyre in the coach out of towne with no ill successe, but I am yet extremely weake; never any sicknesse hath mortified me so much as this and I bless God for it . . . I do not expect to recover my perfect strength till the Springe . . . I know not whether I shall receive any letter from you this post, for it fayled this day. I did not receive any for three posts before.

'I shall take up fifty pounds more the next weeke, upon my bill of creditt. This sickness will cost me at least £50, in England it would have cost £1,000. Tome (his man-servant) with watching me at first got a feavour . . .

'Adieu. L.T.'

This letter was addressed to 'Sir Hugh Cholmeley's house in the Pall Mall.' Shortly

LADY ELIZABETH TOLLEMACHE (1611 – 98), WIFE OF 3RD BARONET
AFTERWARDS DUCHESS OF LAUDERDALE

From portrait at Ham by Sir Peter Lely

WILLIAM MURRAY, CREATED FIRST EARL OF DYSART BY CHARLES I IN 1643

From portrait at Ham by Jansen

afterwards Sir Lionel had a relapse and died on 18 January 1669. His nephew, Lord Alington, was with him at the end, and wrote at once to Lady Katherine Moray to break the news to her sister, Lady Dysart:

'Paris, January 19th, 1669.

'Madame,

'This inclosed I convaie to my Lady, by your meanes, that it might not come unseasonably to augment her griefs; when your Ladyship sees your time, pray acquaint Lady Dysart with the contents of this letter.

'Sir Leyonel had his perfect sense till three or four days before he dyed, and at times to the last, and since his relapse always say'd that sickness would be his last. He told me he had made his will, and that his Lady knewe where it was. Of what he has heere, he desir'd his son my Lord Huntingtower, when he came to Paris, might take what he would the rest of his things he gave to Thomas his Footeman . . . he has given me his silver goblets gilte, and 22 frenche crownes amongst my servants, and desired Monsieur Poictevin, his Apothecary, might have something given him as a reward for his great care he had of him in his long illness. . . . He desir'd his man Thomas might be put out to Mademoiselle Cooke for a year; he had a French footeman, a quiet and honest fellowe, which I will not discharge till I heare from England.

'He spoke often of his son my Lord Huntingtower, and told me he should have been glad to have seen him before he dyed; he desir'd me to tell him that he would have him always obedient to his Mother and kind to his Brothers and Sisters, Begg'd God's blessing upon his Lady and all his Children, and by name desir'd me to remember him to many of his Friends; To your Ladyship and your sisters, to my mother, my Lady Anne Chomeley (sister of Sir William Compton) and Lady Pen. Nicholas, my sister Katherine, my Lady Hollis and her neece, my Lord Maynard, Sir Hugh Chomeley and Mr. Elliot, who he desir'd me to tell he would never gette anything by Horse maches . . .

'Madame,

'Your most faithful humble servant

'Alington.'

'This inclos'd in a Leyter to my Lady from Dr. Dakin, with an account howe they fown'd Sir Leyonell body when it was open'd.'

A letter to Lady Dysart followed in which he stated that Sir Lionel 'desired his body might be carried into England, and buried with his Ancestors at Helmingham with great privacie and frugality'.

Sir Lionel's last will was made in 1667, but there is at Helmingham a rough draft, which seems to have been made as early as the summer of 1659, just before he was to join the royalist rising in East Anglia. He left to his wife Framsden Hall in Suffolk, £200 a year, property in Ham and Petersham, and all his personal estate in Ham House.

His eldest son, Lionel, Lord Huntingtower, came into the Suffolk and Northamptonshire properties. His younger sons, Thomas and William, received annuities of £100 each and his daughters, Elizabeth and Katherine, £2,000 each. The poor of Helmingham, Framsden, Bentley, and Debenham in Suffolk and Petersham in Surrey, each received five pounds. The best horse in Sir Lionel's stable was to be given to his brother-in-law, Sir Nicholas Bacon, husband of his youngest sister Bridget.

The executors were the Countess of Dysart, Sir Nicholas Bacon, and Mr Ptolemy Tollemache, his brother Robert's son. He asked his executors to make no decision 'without the advice of his wife as long as she lived'.

The terms of the will make it clear that there was no very great estrangement between Sir Lionel and his wife. His last letter of advice to his eldest son, which though long is very well worthy of being repeated in full, shows the same trust in her ability and wisdom so far as her children's interests were concerned; but sets out the disadvantage of marriage to a beauty, a courtier, or an imperious woman, which were all the characteristics of his wife.

The last letter of Sir Lionel Tollemache, third Baronet, to his eldest son, written about 1668 from Paris:

> 'Not knowing, my dear child, how long it may please God to spare my life you beinge yet younge and unexperienced in the affayers of this wicked world; My inexpressible kindness to you invites me to give you some short directions howe you may steere the course of your whole life to the glory of God and to your own future happiness. As to your religion let nothing tempt you to be any other, than that you are bredd up in, a good Inglish catholic (the religion of your father; not by birth and education ondly, but by choise too); . . .
>
> 'the actione of your life upon which will depend your future happyness is your marriage, and choise of a wife. Chouse a person of a good family, a comley person rather than a beauty, and of your own religion and a portion proportionable to your present and future estates; of comely person and of good family for your posterity sake, not a beauty nor a courtier, for then she will be lyable to such temtations that few woemen are proufe . . . if it weare but for quietness sake . . . fortune that you may not ondly life plentifully, but that you have the greater oppertunity to be cheritable (which as the apostell sayth forget not) and as I would advise you not to choose such an one as wee call a witte, so fare shee be not a foole, for as many have miscarried one way as the other, of two ivells the first is the least. If you will be happy in a wife let your chiefest care be that shee be of a temper and humours suitable to yours, without which fyer and water will agree as soone. And I charge you (upon my blessinge) if your Mother be living, not to engage yourself in any treaty of marriage without her knowledge and consent, since (you may take my word for it) no one you can advise with all will be more able nor more disinterressed than hirselfe. When you are married (which I advise you to do whilst you are younge; for an ould man to

marry a young woemen is but to tempt a woemen to be dishonest) love her intirely but let her not know it, for all wifes are but too apt to take advantage of the fondness of theire husband, and upon it to growe insolent and imperious, and inclined to pervert the laws of nature by indeavouringe a superiority over the husband, and if shee getts the reignes in her own hands, away shee will runn with it, you scarce ever will stopp her in the whole course of her life. Let your behaviour therefore to hir the first six months be grave but kind, for after that time your fondness will abate of itself, and you will not then neede to sett a garde upon it. Court your wife rather with a fine gowne or what is then the mode, and repeate these presents often to her and you will gain her heart, which otherwise your reservedness may alleante from you, which you must take care of. Let her constant allowance be proportionable to her degree and quality.

'Trust no woemen kind with your secretes, no not your wife, for assure your selfe woemen are ill keapers of secreates, but let her not know you doe so leaste shee makes it a ground for an accatione of unkindness for woemen are very apt to take exceptions which you must ever avoide. Nothinge renders any mans life more unpleasant and troublesome then being in debt, to prevent which you ought to be industrious in the management of your estate yourselfe, not trusting too much to the honesty of a Steward. Take in your accounts often, take care your houses be kept in good repayers, that your landes be not impoverished by too much plowinge, suffer not any tennants to be above one yeare behind in his rent, leaste you be too great a looser by him, lette not your farmes to necessitous persons, every bad yeare they will breake, and your farmes will lose theire reputations.

'Take great care you live with in your revennewe, let not the vanity of a Court or the folly of woemen tempt you to the contrary—let your resolution in this particulare be unalterable.

'If you be in det propose (by the advice of freindes) to your selfe a certaine and speedy way howe you may come out of it and be fixed to that. If you be unmarried a rich wife may doe it, but I rather advise you to retire into some cheape and remote place in some forreine Country with one servant and there live till the revenue of your estate will pay the debt, disguisinge your persone and quality.

'Let your company wherever you are be with persons of quality and persons remarkable for some things extraordinary in science or art. I doe make it my greate desire to you if you live in France not to play at Tennis, it will indaynger your health and take up too much of your time, which you may much better employ.

'I advise you studdy the lawe; both Civill, and the common lawe so as to arrive to some perfection in either, which you will never doe by conversinge with lawyers and hearinge them plead. I recommend to you the Innocency of a Country Life. Let nothing tempt you to forfitt your Allegiance to the Kinge. Never suffer yourself to be bound for any.

'L. Tollemache.'

CHAPTER 8

Lady Elizabeth Tollemache, Countess of Dysart, Duchess of Lauderdale

Sir Lionel Tollemache died in 1669, and it was not long before the gossips were coupling his wife's name with that of the Earl of Lauderdale, afterwards Duke of Lauderdale, then Secretary of State and High Commissioner for Scotland. He was an old friend and admirer of hers, and it was owing to her influence with Oliver Cromwell that he had been released from his long imprisonment in the Tower many years before. Contemporary historians indicate that there was intimacy between them while he was a prisoner, but there is even less evidence of this than of an intrigue with Cromwell, and the suggestion at the time that Lionel Tollemache, Lord Huntingtower, born at Fakenham in 1649, was Lauderdale's son is as absurd as another rumour of the period, that General Thomas Tollemache, Elizabeth's second son, was the son of Oliver Cromwell. Whatever may have been her friendship with Lauderdale, it had been broken off many years before. It was not until after her husband's death that we hear that 'she made up all quarrels' with him. The cause of the quarrel may have been that 'Lauderdale had of long time entertained with Lady Margaret Kennedy, daughter of the Earl of Cassilis, and intimacy which had grown great enough to become suspicious in a person who lov'd not, as some said, his own lady'. Society was comparatively small in those days, having no newspapers, wireless, or cinemas, and their chief interest seems to have been in the discussion of any form of scandal about each other.

Lauderdale arrived in Whitehall from Scotland at the end of 1669, and in the following spring his wife left for France to consult the Parisian doctors, crossing in the yacht *Merlin*, accompanied by her servants and eleven horses. She died at the end of the following year, and seven weeks later the marriage between Lauderdale and Lady Dysart took place at Petersham Church, close to Ham House. The shortness of the interval naturally added to the scandal which had already been busy with their names, and perhaps it is not surprising that it was reported in Scotland that Lauderdale had married 'his old miss'.

Lauderdale was a strong, learned, and well-read man, but 'coarse and harsh, who boasted that he would rather hear a cat mew than the best music in the world, and ill-looking, with long red hair hanging in disorder over his face'. There are pictures of him in the family which well bear out these characteristics. (Picture reproduced opposite.)

DUKE OF LAUDERDALE (1614 – 82), MARRIED LADY ELIZABETH TOLLEMACHE IN 1668

From portrait at Ham by Gennaro

THE CABAL ROOM AT HAM HOUSE

Elizabeth was also a person of strong character,[1] extremely well educated for that period, and a noted wit and beauty. The marriage of the High Commissioner with the new 'Vice-Queen of Scotland' was celebrated in that country by regal honours, 'the Castle of Edinburgh shot as many guns as at His Majesty's birthday'.

Very soon after the marriage, Lauderdale was made a Duke and a Knight of the Garter, and the new Duke and Duchess left for Edinburgh for the opening of the new Parliament.

Here she caused great consternation and offence by adopting the rôle of the representative of royalty. 'The Duchess of Lauderdale caused place for some chairs for herself and some ladies who were of her train, and from these in great state she heard her husband's speech.'

Their journey to Scotland had been in the nature of a royal progress, as we learn from a letter of the Earl of Rothes, Chancellor of Scotland, to the Earl of Queensbury. 'Argyll, Balcarres, and several others met them half way betwixt this and London. Athole, Marshall, Aboyne, Sir John Keith, in a hackney carriage, with a great many horsemen with them, met him three or four stages short.' When Argyll came, the Duke and Duchess and her two daughters being in one coach, they put out the youngest daughter (Lady Catherine Tollemache, afterwards Countess of Moray) 'and did not remove the other' (Lady Elizabeth Tollemache, afterwards Duchess of Argyll), '. . . My Lord Halton with several others, stayed at Alnwick till they came. . . . All the rest came straggling on. . . . Certainly they were the greatest number that had been seen together in this kingdom upon such an occasion for a very long time.'

One of many doggerels written about her at the time reads:

The Nobles and Barons,
The Burrowes and clowns
She threatened at home
E'en the principal towns
And now she usurps with the sceptre and crown
And thinks to destroy with a flip of her gown.
All hearts feel excited whenever she comes
And beat day and night like Gilmour his guns.

Meanwhile the Duchess had been enlarging Ham House and renovating it in the best manner of the period, and when the Duke of Lauderdale came south and became a member of the Cabal, the house was used for their meetings. The Cabal was the High Council of State directly under King Charles II to advise him on major matters of policy, and consisted of Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley (afterwards Lord Shaftesbury),

[1] G. McKenzie's *Memoirs of Affairs in Scotland.* Lady Elizabeth married the Duke of Lauderdale, who was fifty-seven and only six weeks a widower. 'Her Grace at forty-five years of age was a remarkable woman, her wit and cleverness being something singular, nor had the extraordinary beauty she possessed while very young, deserted her at the age she had then attained. There is something romantic in the union with the all-powerful Lauderdale. He owed to her his life through her influence with Cromwell.'

and Lauderdale. The room in which they held their meetings, and the small room next door kept for the personal use of the Duke and Duchess remain to this day with exactly the same furnishings and appointments.[1]

Lauderdale died in 1682 at Tunbridge Wells, where he had gone for a cure, soon after his influence with the King had begun to wane. He was buried in great state in Scotland. His brother Hatton (who succeeded to the Earldom of Lauderdale) writes to the widow:

> '. . . the companie, lords and others first had dinner in Roums provided for them. And the noblemen's roum was hung with Blak and garnished with their Scuchions . . . My Lords Arms and yours. After dinner about eleven aclok all went to sermon at Inveresk Kirk, wher the Bishop of Edinburgh preatched very lernedly. The bodie was placed in good order befor the pulpet and the frends about it. At one of the clok the funerall . . . went in procession toward the Church of Hadingtoun And at 5 aclok That noble and Extraordinarie person was placed in his Tumb nixt to his father's bodie but Raised higher upon a Basse of ston maid of purpos. Ther was present at the funerall two thousant hors at least; in so much that these filled the highway for full four meils in length, thur was 25 coaches and most of this companie cam to the Grave. And although I wrot not above on hundred letters (being by the new act of parliament limited to that number) yet so wele was he beloved that the whole Countrie keindly gave ther presence to the assisting in this last dewtie . . .'

The Duchess survived her husband by sixteen years, during which she was engaged in perpetual litigation with his brother and successor.

Lauderdale had left to his widow all his movable goods, and it was the sight of these loaded in wagons on their way south to Ham House which enraged his family. Other bones of contention were his debts in England and the funeral expenses, which came to the enormous sum of £5,000.[2]

In her later years the Duchess had great money worries, largely through her own extravagant way of living. She raised a mortgage on the Ham House property with Lord North for £7,000. The Duchess of Lauderdale's daughter, Lady Elizabeth, had two sons by the Duke of Argyll, both of whom successively became Dukes of Argyll. The eldest son, John, greatly distinguished himself in political affairs during the reigns of William and Mary, and was created Duke of Greenwich in 1719. Pope mentions him in the epilogue to the *Satires* as 'Argyll, the states whole thunder born to yield and shake

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[1] The Cabal sat in the Queen's Room, so called because Catherine of Braganza, wife of Charles II, slept in it on a visit to Ham. (See illustration.)

[2] At this time, 1684, the Duchess of Lauderdale was getting absorbed in her suit against the Maitlands, and the determination of both parties grew fiercer with delay. The Duchess at last attempted to put an end to the matter by appealing to the King, who replied with a letter to the Lords of the Session in favour of the Duchess against the Earl of Lauderdale. Unfortunately this game of obtaining Royal letters was one that two could play at, and a letter written by the Lords to the King was procured by Lord Maitland, who had got this favour from the priest. As late as 1693 there was still some dispute about the payment of the Duke's funeral expenses, but in 1697 a final agreement was made between the Duchess and Earl Lauderdale.

alike the senate and the field'. Lady Mary Coke writes regarding the 2nd Duke, 'He longed most inordinately for a son, while as if to tantalize him daughter perversely followed daughter to the number of five. These poor girls being of "the useless sex and their birth an encumbrance and calamity" the Duke took no heed of them, the only direction he gave was that they were not to learn French because "one language was enough for a woman to talk in".'

The Duchess of Argyll, whose letters show that she was an excellent woman of business, frequently writes expostulating to her mother:

> 'Every day sum new expence or other comes upon you which swallows up your rent. Your Grace has too many chamber lords; one may very well doe all, many items makes a sum; a little thing would yearly keep your house and park in repairs, but it being neglected till 'tis ruenous costs a great deall to repare it. 'Tis no wonder your Grace is stratened.'

Her son-in-law, the Duke of Argyll, was more straightforward in his methods to make certain that his family received any money that was going on her death. He writes from Roseneath:

> 'I doe Assure your Grace that not onlie this occasion but allways you shall see me Approve myself a kind Father to my Children who has the honour to be your Grace's Grandchildren. I know your Grace's Inclination to be Kynd to them, and in particular towards poore Johne, so that I am hopefull your Grace may remember poor Johne's Concern . . .'

It seems to have been a great blow to Argyll to find that, after all his reminders, the Duchess of Lauderdale did not provide handsomely for 'poor Johne' in her will, though she left one hundred guineas to his mother; but it is hard to feel that John, afterwards Duke of Argyll and Greenwich, was in dire need of such provision after the reversal of his grandfather's attainder. However, Argyll persistently continued to question the justice of his mother-in-law's will, to the intense exasperation of the new Earl of Dysart.

The Duchess of Lauderdale left her second daughter, Catherine, a similar legacy of one hundred guineas; but Argyll's annoyance was certainly not assuaged by a legacy of £5,000 from her uncle, General Sir Thomas Tollemache, to Lady Elizabeth Stuart, Catherine's daughter, to be paid to her at the time of her marriage provided she did not marry a Scotsman. But Catherine married Grant of Grant!

After such a full and brilliant life her last years must have been lonely. Her two younger sons, whom she adored, were both dead. Her eldest son was much engrossed in his large estates in Suffolk and Northamptonshire, and her daughters, except for occasional visits to Ham, lived in Scotland. Her later letters to her children are full of pathos:

> 'God knows my cheef conserne is your happenes, for I am so Alinated from this world that blessed be His name I have no other thoughts able to make in me Deepe

impressions but my sense of my deare children's sufferings, and it is my great desier to have that influence upon you all as may prevail with you to make good use of my fatall experience as may enable you to know who are real friends to be trusted, and who are only so for some ends of their owne . . .

'It is now more than 8 years since I have been so constantly fixed in this place (Ham House) [1] that I am even a stranger to all others . . . I have never yet been farther than this lowe story, except when I was had up to the highest to close old Rebecca's eyes . . . I am entirely discouraged from all future medling in this world, having now had the full and sad experience of my unsuckcessfulness . . .'

It is not amusing to grow old if you have been a great beauty, a brilliant wit, and a personality in affairs of State and the inner life of a Court.

However, whatever her protestations to her family, to the last she could not refrain from slight 'medling in this world'. The Duchess had many Jacobite friends, such as Linlithgow, Perth, and Melfort, but she herself had never been very sympathetic towards King James II's views, though she offered him Ham House as a refuge on his retirement from London. The offer was made through Halifax, Shrewsbury, and De la Mar, but the King preferred to go to Rochester. It is unlikely that she wished to do anything more to further his restoration than would be just enough to secure the position of her family in any event. Though there is a key to a new code among her papers of 1694, there is no evidence that she ever made use of it. At that time King William had grown increasingly unpopular, and his position seemed insecure. His own ministers and many officers of the Army and Navy were in correspondence with the exiled King James II.

She died 'in this lowe story' at Ham House on Sunday, 15 June 1698, having lived in four reigns, those of Charles I, Charles II, James II, and William III, and having passed through a civil war and two revolutions, one bloody and one peaceful. In accordance with her wishes she was buried very quietly, 'carried by only my particular family', 'in Petersham church where my most honoured mother the Countess of Dysart does lye with three of my sisters and three of my owne children'.

Her only surviving son, Lord Huntingtower, was with her at the end, and his wife, who was at Helmingham with her children, was sent for, as we learn from a characteristic letter to the new Earl of Dysart from his faithful steward, Anthony Brokenham. He makes little attempt to conceal his delight at the advent of an Earldom into the family which he served so long and faithfully:

'Right Honourable, My Lord,

'This presumes to pay the Condoling as withal the Congratulating respect to your Honour and this (with your pardon) without farther Expressions on that Head, how

[1] Ham House was built, or completed, by Sir Thomas Vavasour, Knight Marshal to Henry, Prince of Wales, in 1610. He sold the house to Lord Holderness, whose widow sold the reversion to the copyhold to William Murray, first Lord Dysart.

HAM HOUSE FROM THE NORTH SIDE

THE FIRST PINEAPPLE EVER INTRODUCED INTO ENGLAND BEING PRESENTED TO KING CHARLES II BY THE GARDENER

From a picture at Ham by Danckus

meet and proper so 'ere; being well assured, You wel know, without prompting to give you decent and well-becoming entertaine to all Revolutions, and no doubt to that more particularly in your own honourable family, upon which, both Root and Branch, God grant that the Light of his Countenance and favour may Long shine.

'We hope her Honour, your good Lady, arrived at Ham safely and timely of who of an account would be most welcome both within and without doors here, blessed be God! very well and in good order; My wife humbly craves her duty and service to her Honour, so that she may know that the Lady Mary dischargeth her Trust with a matron-like prudence and care; that the Lady Grace is as shie of ye Moate, as the brent child of fire; and for your Lady Catherine that shee stands upon her justification, and defies the Bird that shall tell anything but well of her to Mama . . .

'Your coach-horses have not suffered ye least upon their journey to Claydon; the suspected Bulloc fully recovered; Farmer Overstal returned last Thursday from Bentley much disconted that he can't make quit markett of your wood at the price sett . . . he feares your Lordship will overslipp the proper season for repairs of ye moat-walls . . . Now, my Lord, Keeping our due distance, do both my wife & self make our due addresses according to so fair a copy. I humbly craving you believe that I am

'My Lord

'Your Honours Most obedient Servant

'Ant. Bokenham.'

The burial of the Duchess is thus entered in the Register at Petersham Church:

'Her Grace Elizabeth late Duchess of Lauderdale of this Parish was interr'd ye 16 day of June 1698. Noe Affidavitt made within 8 dayes and information of her Grace being buryed in linnen given by myself to Sir John Beckworth accordingly etc.'

An Act was passed in 1690 requiring all persons to be buried in woollen only, and if an affidavit was not made to this effect the relatives of the deceased were fined.

The Act was passed in order to encourage the manufacture of woollen goods and to hinder the importation of foreign linen. But was much disliked and frequently evaded.

I feel that I cannot do better here than quote what Lady Sudely writes of Ham:

'Elizabeth Murray, elder daughter of the 1st Earl of Dysart, married as her first husband Sir Lionel Tollemache of Helmingham—or Talmash as it was then spelt—a Suffolk Baronet of very ancient lineage. Her eldest son succeeded to the title and from him are descended the late Earl of Dysart and the Tollemaches of Helmingham. She married secondly the Duke of Lauderdale, the most unscrupulous of Ministers. Of the Countess, better known as Duchess of Lauderdale we read "she took upon herself to determine everything". She, a woman of great beauty but still greater parts, had a wonderful quickness of apprehension and an amazing vivacity of conversation. She studied Divinity, History, Mathematics and Philosophy. She was a violent friend and a still more violent enemy, she had a restless ambition and lived at vast expense.

She just lived to see the flight of James II and accession of William and Mary, and died in 1667. We must not overlook the temptations that must have beset this clever, ambitious and beautiful wife of Lauderdale, when we are told that "the immorality which was epidemic among the politicians of that age appeared in its most malignant form". For the first ten years after she married the Duke of Lauderdale (the Earl of Lauderdale) they were all but nominally King and Queen of Scotland, though Horace Walpole says "he was such a dog that the least honest man must have been driven to distrust him".

'The "Cabal" which used to meet at Ham, consisted of the famous despotic Ministers of Charles II, viz. Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley and Lauderdale, whose initials formed the word "Cabal" and whose secret meetings were the first resemblance England ever had had to Cabinet Government.

'Few houses have been so intimately connected with English history as Ham. The pictures are magnificent (illustrations of which are shown in these pages), besides many other world famous treasures. It has been undisturbed and the bulk of its contents to-day are as they were in the Stuart times when first introduced by the Duchess of Lauderdale (this was written before the sale of the house to the National Trust by Sir Lyonel Tollemache last year). Tradition positively asserts that the iron gates which face the river have never been unlocked since a Stuart King passed out, but tradition errs like all things human, though until lately these gates have only been opened on "special occasions".

'Ham House was for a short time a Royal Residence. Prince Henry, the eldest son of James I, dwelt there during his brief life. Like some other Scotch titles the Peerage descends in the female line in default of male heirs. Two beautiful women have reigned at Ham as Countess of Dysart in their own right and their lives are especially linked with its annals.

'One generation after another have passed away but each possessor has left practically unchanged and unaltered the suite of rooms known as the State rooms, furnished and decorated with their characteristic love of expenditure by the Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale in the time of Charles I.

'A curious old inventory was not long ago discovered stowed away in the lumber room containing the contents of the house after it had been furnished by the Lauderdales. Many familiar objects in familiar places were recognised by those who looked over this inventory.

'We have lingered too long outside the old doors. Let those who like follow me through the massive doors into the interior. The great hall paved with black and white marble has a gallery around the four sides. The pictures are magnificent.[1] The miniature room has its special charm in the fact that these treasures have been in it ever since they were painted and hung from the old faded tapestry 200 years ago, the greatest treasure

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[1] Copies of many of these are illustrated in this book.

being Katherine Bruce, Countess of Dysart, wife of the 1st Earl and the mother of the Duchess of Lauderdale, painted by John Hoskins. The collection extends from the very beginning of the art down to the time of the great glory of the eighteenth century. There is a lovely portrait by Cosway of Ensign Tollemache.[1] There is perhaps no other such choice collection in England, so various and in such good condition.[2]

'On the altar of the little chapel, all panelled in oak, lies a beautiful prayer-book presented by Charles II. [It was in this chapel during the lifetime of Louisa, Countess of Dysart, that her beautiful grand-daughter, Maria Tollemache, became wife of the Marquis of Ailesbury (vide picture illustrated in this book). No other wedding has ever been celebrated there except that of the present writer (Lady Sudely).]

'The Cabal Room remains to this day as it was during those eight years when the members of the King's Cabal met there. The long arm chairs with high backs that they used to sit on, with tapestry in Watteau design. The floor is of parquetry in which appears at intervals the Duchess of Lauderdale's cypher and coronet. Many of the rooms are hung with great sheets of Mortlake tapestry of Stuart period. A lock of hair from the ill-fated Earl of Essex is one of the chief relics. The chairs in which the Duke and Duchess used to sit in almost regal state under a canopy, are still there.

'It was Lauderdale who imprisoned numbers of Scottish Presbyterian ministers in the dungeons of the Bass Rock near North Berwick. Bishop Warburton states, "conscience had never anything to do with his Lordship's determinations".

'The Duchess of Lauderdale must have been among the first English ladies who followed Katherine of Braganza's example in drinking tea, and it was the most costly luxury purchased only from Portuguese merchants. In the household accounts of the Countess of Argyll in the year 1690 it is recorded that six ounces of tea often cost £10 16*s.* 9*d.* In those days Ham was sometimes called Ham Palace, a name which it fully deserved.

'More than two hundred years have come and gone since Macaulay tells us that "Ham was celebrated for its more than Italian beauty with its busts, fountains and avenues", yet still the sombre beauty of the stately old brick house on the banks of the Thames, surrounded by its leafy avenues, attracts the wonder and interest of the passer-by.

'Ham claims especial interest in the fact that within a few miles of the centre of London is to be found this authentic and historic relic of bygone days.'

Here all things in their place remain
As they were ordered ages since.

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[1] See illustration facing page 109.

[2] The library at Ham was sold by the present Sir Lyonel Tollemache a few years ago.

NOTE.—There are of course many stories of ghosts at Ham: a blocked window on the west side that had been painted to look like a glazed window was where a ghost was said to look out. The ghost of Charles I used to be said to be seen by the village folk walking on the King's meadow on the north side of the house; also other stories of ghosts playing cards in the room leading to the garden beyond the green drawing-room, and many others.

CHAPTER 9

Lieutenant-General The Honourable Thomas Tollemache

A brave soldier destined to a fate never to be mentioned without shame and indignation. MACAULAY.

THOMAS was the second son of Sir Lionel, third Baronet, and Lady Elizabeth Tollemache, Countess of Dysart and later Duchess of Lauderdale. We first hear of him as a captain in Cologne. He and his mother kept up a correspondence, but she found it 'difficulty, ye sending of letter to severall places, where not certaine to be found, or indeed to be'. However, she was not a woman to be easily daunted by difficulties and wrote to him through Sir Joseph Williamson 'Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from his Majestie of Great Brittaine at the Treaty', asking him to forward them 'by some sure hand' if he was not at Cologne. But even by making use of the King's Messengers of the day, the postings were so bad that a letter despatched from the Duchess's rooms in Whitehall on 3 June 1673 did not reach the Ambassador until 6 July, on which day he personally endorsed it as being received.

On 16 January 1678 Thomas received his commission as captain of one of the eight newly raised companies of the Coldstream Regiment of Guards, and from this date the long and continuous association of the Tollemache family with this regiment began. At this time he was living at Helmingham, and his company was very conveniently quartered in the neighbourhood, at Woodbridge, only a few miles away. This arrangement must have been all the more suitable to Thomas, as it was at Helmingham that he kept a pack of hounds, but unfortunately it was to last only a few weeks.

On 23 February, 'Capt. Gunman in the Mary Yacht took from Harwich of Capt. Talmache's company not above 60, and that 40 more of them were upon their march with Capt. from Woodbridge, intending to imbark this afternoon in the yacht, to joyn the former part of That company at Guernsey'.

Thomas, however, did not embark with them, as he had been appointed Lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of foot raised by his cousin Lord Alington, which was ordered to Flanders. Here he remained until the following December, when he received orders from the Duke of Monmouth, then Commander-in-Chief, to return to England.

'James, Duke, etc. to Lt. Col. Talmache or Officer in Chief Commanding the Battalion of the Lord Alington Regt.

'You are to obey such orders as you shall receive from Sir Sam: Clarke, Maj. Generall to his Majesties Forces in order to your transportation into England, and you are to disembark with the Battalion of the Ld. Alington's Regt. under your Command at the Towne of Yarmouth, and from thence you are to march with your owne the Major's and Capt. Fanshaws Companyes to the Towne of Beccles in the County of Norfolk to Quarter there till further Orders in Inns, Taverns, Alehouses and Victualling houses; wherein all Justices of the Peace and other his Majesties Officers are hereby required to bee assisting. And the respective Officers of the said Companyees are strictly commanded to bee Very Carefull that the Souldiers behave themselves orderly on their March and in their Quarters which they are to see duely satisfyed. You are likewise to order the Colonel's Company to March to Halsworth, Capt. Mordaunt to Blibourg, Sir John Moore's and Capt. Armes to Bungay, and the Lord Richardson's to Harleston in the said County of Norfolk. Given under my hand att whitehall this 14th day of December 1678.

'Monmouth.'

Lord Alington's Regiment was disbanded in April 1679, and on 30 May Colonel Tollemache was again commissioned as a captain in the Coldstream Guards, which was soon ordered out to Tangier, where hard fighting was expected. The Colony, which had been taken over from Portugal with such enthusiasm in 1662, had of late years been much neglected; the year 1680 brought the crisis of the British occupation, and when Sir Palmer Fairborne came out in April, with four companies of Lord Dumbarton's Regiment to reinforce the garrison, he found it besieged by the Moors and already in the greatest difficulties.

'I must confess I never saw a place more ruinous than this,' Fairborne wrote home, 'noe one thing being in a condition fitt for defence, and what is worse not one spare arme in the stores excepting a few blunderbusses that is come at this time with me. I beseech you to dispatch with all speed at least 1200, the Scotch companys being very ill-arm'd and if we come to a brisk action we shall be in great distress.'

The Coldstream arrived just in time to prevent disaster. Other reinforcements soon followed, twelve more companies of Dumbarton's Regiment from Ireland, and the 'King's Battalion' under the command of Lord Sackville. A number of volunteers from the Court of King Charles also joined up, and a treaty was signed at Windsor between England and Spain, the King of Spain agreeing to send two hundred Catalan horse to help our garrison, and to provide our own troops with horses.

With these reinforcements the garrison could take the offensive, and a plan was made to recapture Pole Fort from the Moors. The attack started in the early morning of 20 September. Four companies of foot marched out, and a 'forlorn Hope' as advanced

guard, commanded by Colonel Tollemache, with the Earl of Plymouth and other distinguished volunteers. The attack reached its objective and took possession of the ruins of Fort Pole, but the Moors counter-attacked in great force, and desperate fighting continued for some seven or eight hours. The King's Regiment and the 'Old Regiment' were drawn into battle. At the most critical stage, when the Moors had succeeded in fighting their way into the centre of the Fort, the Scottish Grenadiers under Captain Hodges, and a Naval contingent of seamen commanded and led by Admiral Herbert in person, arrived on the scene and drove the Moors back from trench to trench. By eight o'clock in the evening the battle was over, and our forces retired into the town, leaving five hundred men under Colonel Sackville to garrison the fort.

The Governor wrote home in high praise of the officers under his command, especially commending the gallant bravery and leadership of Colonel Tollemache and Colonel Sackville. Of Admiral Herbert he writes, 'this age has not produced a finer man, both in courage and conduct'. Fighting went on intermittently until 27 October, when a grand sortie was made by the whole garrison.

'The Attaque prov'd a very hott & bloody piece of service. The two Captains which commanded were immediately carried off, ill wounded, as were most of the other officers. . . . The Scots and their Granadeers charged first (if there was any time at all between their charging, for like fire and lightening all went to it once) stoutly seconded by the Seamen, Inchiquin's Regiment most resolutely assisting, the English and Spanish horse behaving themselves to Admiration. . . . After wee had beaten them from their new trenches and were advanc'd to the old Lyne (which was attain'd with great losse on our side, one of the Battalions of my Lord Insiquin's regiment haveing not above 50 men left upon the spott), at length by levelling the trenches we made passage for our horse . . . upon which the enemy turned their backs & betooke themselves to flight from all quarters, being pursued by both Horse & Foot who made great slaughter with them. . . . Wee pursued them scattered like sheep on the Mountaines at least a mile into the Country.'

Colonel Fairborne, the Commander-in-Chief, who had been badly wounded, was carried out to his balcony to watch the fight, and lived just long enough to hear the full report of the day's victory.

The news of his death and of the 'Totall defeat' of the Moors by the English, 'taking two pieces of cannon, 5 colour & severall prisoners', was brought home by Colonel Tollemache, who went on leave in November, arriving in London on the 26th. The official account of the campaign, however, was not the first to reach England, for a month before her son's return, his mother had heard something of the action of 20 September, since she wrote of it to her husband, the Duke of Lauderdale, who was then at Tunbridge Wells to drink the waters: 'The news from Tangier are good. My poore sonn Thomas did command the forlorn hope & has done his part very well.'

Not long after his return to England he fought a duel with Captain Parker, after-

wards a daring and well-known Jacobite plotter, 'on some affront given to the captain by the said Colonel'. It was in connexion with this affair that his company in the Coldstream was given to another officer on 21 June 1682. He returned to Tangier as a volunteer, 'as he usually did', according to one of his contemporaries, when he had no executive command. He did not remain there long, for early in 1683 King Charles II decided to abandon the Colony and evacuate the garrison.

His mother was always very ambitious for the future of her children, and was annoyed that Thomas did not like the life at Court. She writes to Huntingtower at Helmingham, where Thomas was staying, 'I desier more earnestly yt yr Brouther (Thomas) will be att New Markett all the time for unless hee does make his Court to the Duke that way, I'm sure hee will not arrive att any preferment, to my great trouble'.

The Duchess of Lauderdale was no doubt thoroughly conversant with the intrigues of Charles II's Court, but the Duke of York had an eye to good service as well as 'infulence', and, within a few months of his accession to the throne as King James II, appointed Thomas to be Lieutenant-Colonel of a newly formed regiment of fusiliers, afterwards known as the Royal Fusiliers. He did not, however, retain this command long, for he resigned his commission 'as soon as he saw that the army was to be used to set up an arbitrary power'.

On 9 October 1685 he became Colonel of the Anglo-Dutch regiment, afterwards the Northumberland Fusiliers, which was stationed in the Netherlands under the orders of the Dutch Government.[1] In March 1688 he refused to obey the express command of King James II to leave the Dutch service and, on the collapse of the Stuart regime, brought his whole regiment over with King William to the landing at Torbay.

This action must have placed him in the new King's favour, but a letter from King William to the Duchess of Lauderdale urged her to spur her son to promote still further his cause.

'London.
'April ye 7th '89.

'Madam,

'I think my selfe very hapy in the long absence of your Grace from those who esteeme you, to be commanded by the King to write to you. His Majesty will have me acquaint you that hee is not only concern'd in what lyes in his power to doe towards the advance and settlement of your son Coll. Tormadge; But will likewise take it under his care to recommend him to your Grace for the doing of your part to soe good an end. I must assure your Grace I have not knowne a person of better creditt upon his owne bottome than is that of your Son. I find him to be a person of great sence & judgement the post . . . that I have knowne, for that what with the

[1] In 1686 General Tollemache commanded the 5th Foot in Holland, when they were known as Tollemache's Regiment of Foot, he was second in command to Marlborough in this campaign.

esteeme hee with the King & the carrector hee bear's in ye World Hee will certainly bee of use to the poublick & honor to your family; and there fore knowing your distinguishing minds in observing the judgement of Princes your Grace will (I am sure) give all incouragement to his Majesty's intention by what assistance you can, and whatever you command herein shall bee faithfully obeyed by

'Madam, Your Grace's most assured humble Servant

'Hen. Capell.

'My wife assures your Grace of her humble service.'

In December 1690 the Governor of Flanders asked King William for support from England, as the French troops were concentrating and he feared that they intended to invade Flanders. Colonel Tollemache, who had received the command of his old regiment, the Coldstream Guards, after the Revolution, was ordered to Flanders, where he remained until May 1691. He then returned home to make preparation for the Irish expedition, and was appointed to be Major-General, the date of his promotion being ante-dated to 20 December 1690 by a special letter from Sydney to Lord Nottingham.

Thomas crossed to Ireland in the second week in June, accompanied by 'several vessells with recuits and money'. They were taken across in the Yacht *Mary*, presumably a well-known transport, since it was in the same ship that his company of Coldstreams had crossed to Guernsey many years before. The Army, under Baron de Ginkel, then advanced from Dublin towards Ballymore to capture the town of Athlone, where the river Shannon divides Leinster and Connaught. The bridge over the river was obstinately and successfully defended, but eventually a ford was discovered and the enemy taken by surprise. The dispatch of the Army Commander, Baron de Ginkel, from the Camp at Athlone, states that 'the Count of Nassau, and Tollemache and Brigadier Belasyse have shown great zeal and energy in your Majesty's service'. The Army then advanced on Aughrim, where St Ruth, who held Connaught for James II with a native Irish Army, had fortified a strong position. In the attack Tollemache commanded the infantry of the right wing in the second line, and when the attack of the first line had failed led forward the troops by whom the battle was won. In the attack on the town itself his services 'were not required', but he 'would needs go as a volunteer' in the assault on the outworks. Limerick, the last hope of the Irish, held out for a six weeks' siege, and there again he greatly distinguished himself; on 15 September he led the infantry across the Shannon above the town, and driving back the Irish, enabled de Ginkel to complete the investment. This ended King William's conquest of Ireland, and on 5 November 1691 the Secretary at War was able to report from Dublin Castle that hostilities were virtually at an end. 'We are getting ships to transport the Troops designed for Flanders which we can now spare; the English towne of Lymerick being deliv'd to Major General Talmash on Sunday morning last.' Ginkel was created Earl of Athlone for this campaign, and his dispatches show that he gave every credit to Tollemache and Hackay, but to the disgust

of the officers and soldiers they had no notice taken of them on their return home, 'because they were not foreignors'.

In January 1692 it was commonly reported that he would resign his commission, but he was apparently appeased by a private audience of two hours with King William, in which His Majesty expressed himself 'extremely satisfied with his conduct of matters'. He was now expected to be home for a little time and was elected a Member of Parliament for Chippenham.

Tollemache was then promoted Lieutenant-General, and early in March was ordered to Flanders. He played a distinguished part in the disastrous battle of Steinkirk, and it was largely owing to him that the retreat was conducted with admirable order. Tollemache, who, since the disgrace of Marlborough, had become the best-known English general, laid the blame for the defeat upon the incapacity of the Prince of Waldeck and Count Solmes. At the beginning of December it was 'wrote from Flanders . . . that 8,000 French horse and foot were marching from Lisle . . . whereon General Tollemache who was coming for England, is gone back to observe the motions of the enemy'; and a few days later, 'General Tollemache, with 12,000 of our forces marched to meet the French that were to attack Dixmunde and Furnes; but understanding by their scouts of our approach, made a halt, and a frost breaking at the same time, they retired'.

In February 1693 he was appointed to command 'all the English and Scotch forces and no foreign officer to command under him'; and by the middle of March he was in Ghent, as appears from one of his letters to the Secretary of State for War. At the battle of Landan in the summer he was in charge of the central detachment with Neerwinden on its right; where, after the failure of the Allied Forces to hold the village, the Coldstream Guards and Seventh Fusiliers stood firm against the assault of five French Brigades. The French Household Cavalry charged, and during the attack Tollemache's horse was killed under him, but the charge was repelled, and a French colour was captured by the Coldstream Guards, his own regiment and under his command. The battle, however, ended in a disastrous rout, the bridges became choked by a mass of men, guns, and horses, and thousands were drowned or trampled to death. Only Tollemache and Belasyse brought off their infantry in good order; the former showing 'excellent skill and courage', and conducting the retreat 'with as much prudence as he had before fought with bravery'.

By this action he had become a popular hero, and even King William, who disliked him owing to his openly expressed antipathy to the Dutch officers and their own hatred of him, had to show him some favour. When His Majesty 'dined in private with the Lord Newport', on Thursday, 2 November 1693 General Tollemache and Lord Colchester were guests with the Dukes of Hamilton and Ormonde.

Meanwhile the disasters of the campaign, and the heavy taxation required to support the war, had enraged the whole country. The Army was unpaid, and over a million pounds sterling was owing to the sailors, who were in a state of mutiny. No road leading

to London was safe from highwaymen, many of whom were Jacobite officers, deprived of all other means of livelihood. The merchants also complained loudly of their losses at sea, where single ships of war and privateers, from Brest in particular, made havoc of English commerce. Under these circumstances General Tollemache was the first to suggest that the remedy was a combined naval and military attack upon the port of Brest. To carry this out successfully, secrecy was of paramount importance:

In April 1694 about 7,000 men were ordered to camp on the Portsdown Hills, and the large number of transports soon drew attention to the fact that some expedition overseas was contemplated. Luttrell noted in his diary that 'yesterday General Tolmach went to Portsmouth to mark out a camp for 12 regiments of Foot . . . to make up a body of 24,000 men who are to plunder the French seaport towns'.

On the very day that Luttrell recorded the English General's journey to Portsmouth, Vauban received at Conquest, near Brest, a letter from King Louis of France, written from Paris on 14 April, warning him of an intended attack on Brest by 7,000 English troops, and the combined navies of England and Holland, against which he had ordered two regiments of Horse and six battalions of Coast Guards to proceed to Brest as a precautionary measure. Vauban had reported to his King, fully a month before the expedition set sail, that he had 'rendered all the subterranean passages under the Castle bombproof, and had mounted ninety mortars and three hundred guns in good positions . . . that the troops were in good order, and there were 300 bombardiers, the same number of gentlemen, 4,000 regular infantry and a regiment of Dragoons in the place'. It was not until 8 June, exactly nine weeks after King Louis had sent his instructions to Vauban, that Admiral Lord Berkeley brought the fleet into Camaret Bay. Many accounts, both official and unofficial, of this action are in existence, but perhaps the following written by an eyewitness, Captain Nathaniell Green, is the truest and most interesting:

'Volunteer with Lt. Gen. Talmach in the Expedition to Brest, Given this 15th of June, 1694.

'On the 7th of this inst. June My Lord Berkeley with the Squadron under his command came to an Anchor about Noone between the two lands near Camaret Bay, the Water being about two miles over. In the afternoon Generall Talmach went in a yacht (taking Coll. La Motte and Engineer with him) to view the landing place and there being no Batteries then raised or Trenches dug the Generall was encouraged to land the next day.

'The 8th in the morning ther appear'd on a high land near the Shore about five squadrons of Horse with some few foot & treated us all the day long with Canon Shott & Bombs, but did us little or no hurt with them.

'A Councill of Warr was held that morning on board My Lord Berkeley where it was resolved that the Marquis of Carmarthen with 3 English & 4 Dutch Men of War should devert & batter Camarett Fort, in order to cover the Generall & the land forces in their Landing.

'Immediately after My Lord Carmarthen was engaged with the fort the Generall

commanded the land forces to go into the Boats. My Lord Cutts Brigadier was commanded with 9 Companies of Grenadier to land first. Coll. Vanner in case of opposition was to sustaine him with his Regiment. Coll. Hussey was to Sustaine Coll. Venner & so every Colonell had his Regular orders to sustaine each other.

'But When Wee came to the Shoare the Army seing 3 Batterys one on the right hand shoar & two on the left hand. Besides three Trenches within the Land on Our Front. The first Trench lined with Men, the Second Empty & the third full with a Battery over it to cover all, & for further Strength that 150 Musqueteers were covered behind a Sand rock about ten yards distance from the land rock. This sudden prodigious appearance of strength made Our Men not very forward to land.

'The Generall being neare the Shoare in a small boat with Coll. La Motte, Lt. Coll. Montargis & Cap. Green, the Generall gave Orders for Landing by word of mouth, but none landed at that time except 9 Grenadiers with one Ensigne. Notwithstanding the great danger the Generall would and did land, Capt. Green going up to the middle in water first, the Generall next in same Depth of Water, then Coll. La Motte and his brother, Lt. Coll. Montargis & so marched up to the Land rock for Cover, it being about 30 yards from the Water. When there was landed to the above-mentioned nine about 150 Grenadiers & Souldiers more, the Generall came from the rock & put himself at the head of them, but immediately received from the Battery the Sand Rock & the Land Rock a great number of small shott which cutt off most of these men, killed Col. La Motte, shot his brother through the left legg & the Generall into the right thigh about the middle of it with a poysoned shott. After this the Generall shelter'd himself under the Rock againe but presently ther being landed about 200 souldiers more with 2 or 3 Captains & some few subalterns, the Generall headed these men a second time in order to take the Sand Rock but was repulsed by the said Rock & the Baterys with the loss of most of these men, and then he retreated again to the Rock calling for men to land, but a body of horse being seen to march towards the Shoare the Generall by great Entreaty was persuaded to go off & to get into a Boat, being led by Lt. Coll. Montargis & followed close by Cap. Green to save the shott from him, who upon entering the water received a Slug in his back (but having a Buff Wast belt on & the hanger making it double) did him no more harme than to go through his Belt, Coat, Wastcoat and shirt, breaking the skin a little & there lodged. When the Generall came to the Well boat side Montargis and Green lifted him in, but most of the seamen having deserted her, & the boat being on ground could not get off, but a boat of My Lord Berkeley's being att a small distance C. Green call'd to them promising them 5/li to take them off, which accordingly they did, & by the time they were 6 or 8 boat's lengths from the Shoare the Horse came down and cutt of all that were before left or had landed afterward. So that on shoare & in the Boats He Judges Wee have lost about 5 or 600 Souldiers, and in going of C. Green sitting behind the Generall, received a pistoll shott on his hat & onley broke the upper part of his head.

'When the Generall was quite off, the Earl of Macclesfield Majr Generall very prudently beat a retreat & so drew off without further loss. The Generall rowed on board My Lord Berkeley and desired of him the use of his Chirugeon Mr. Worth & A ship to carry him for England, whereupon my Lord ordered him the Dreadnaught where he went aboard & was dress'd by Mr. Worth . . . The Generall made the best of his way to plymouth where hee arrived in Plymouth Sound on Monday the 21 inst. about 7 in the morning & landed at nine, & went in bed, hee was drest with the Assistance of the physitians and chirugeons that were in that Towne, whose Judgements were that hee would do well, but on Tuesday about 4 in the afternoon hee fell into a Slumber till five, & then waking sent for Cap. Green, & shew'd him his Thigh, which was to a prodigious bigness swell'd from the Wound up to the Groyne, & so downward to the Anckle, which rose in this little time of his slumber. Cap. Green told him he fear'd it was death, the Generall answer'd God's will be done, I beleeve the same. But immediately the Physitians and Chirigeons were sent for to consult what was best to be done, who were, all of opinion that hee would dy in an hower, if hee had no relief by fomentations & scarifying which was done accordingly & when dress'd & bound up he was removed to the other side of the Bed & about 7 a Clock hee dyed in Captn' Green's Armes being sensible to the last.

'The day before, between 4 & 5 in the afternoon the Generall told Cap. Green that in case hee should dy Cap. Green should give his Duty to the King & Queen & assure them that hee wished them all health and happyness & would bee glad if he had another life to serve them better than he had done with this life in this business, & tho' hee had sacrificed his life It was impossible for him to serve them better unless he had been better obeyed, none of the Generall officers landing with him, which hindered the men from landing as they would have done, but however hee apprehending that it would have been to little purpose to have landed more men, that Mr. Lord Macclesfield acted prudently in beating a retreat after he came off as My Lord Cutts did undutifully in not going on . . .'

His body was brought to London 'to be interr'd at the Queen's charge in Westminster Abbey', but after lying in state for a short time at his house in Leicester Fields it was carried 'according to his desire' . . . into Suffolk to be interred at Helmingham Hall, and not in Westminster Abbey as at first designed. The funeral took place on 30 June (1694). Nicholas Brady, minister of St Catherine Cree Church, London, preached the sermon, a copy of which is preserved at Helmingham.

King William wrote personally to General Tollemache:

'Camp of Rosbeck 28 June, 1694.

'I am much grieved to learn that you have not been able to maintain the descent which you attempted. And above all that you have been wounded there I hope God will give you a quick recovery. And that you will soon be in a condition to continue

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL THOMAS TOLLEMACHE, MORTALLY WOUNDED AT BREST
DIED 1694

From portrait at Ham House by Kneller

HONOURABLE WILLIAM ROBERT TOLLEMACHE, BROTHER OF GENERAL TOLLEMACHE
DIED AT SEA 1694

Original portrait at Helmingham

your good service to me. Assuring always of the continuation of my friendship and esteem.

'WILLIAM R.'

This letter is endorsed by his mother the Duchess: 'His Ma^s Letter to my Sonn dated June ye 28, 1694. Camp Rosbeck.'

His last letter to his brother Lionel, Lord Huntingtower shows that he undertook the expedition with reluctance:

'Portsmouth ye 6th of May (1694).

'Just upon my leaving London I had the favor of your obleighing letter. I did indeed all this winter believe I should not be in a condition to serve the campagne and with some other reasons I resolv'd to goe Live in the country the rest of my life, but my ill fortune will not lett me alone, and now I am ingag'd more than ever, I must say much against my will . . . I am commanded by the King to embarque on the fleet with ten Regim.ts of foot, I shall returne from this service in a month and then goe for flanders, so that I am in a continuall hurry this summer, I wish you, your good lady and familie all happyness Imaginable and am your most affectionate

'brother

'T. Tolmach.'

'I have got a pack of Dogs and beg leave to leave them at Helmingham till I send them to flanders.'

There can be no doubt that General Tollemache's disastrous failure at Brest was due to the warning that King Louis had received of the exact place and the approximate date of the attack, and to the completeness of Vauban's defensive preparations. Immediately after his death the story became current that, when he was dying, he said that he had been betrayed, and actually named the traitors so that the Queen 'might be on her guard against those pernicious councillors who had retarded the descent, and by that means given France time to fortify Brest'.

It was also asserted that he and others had accused Marlborough of insuring his defeat in order to ruin his one rival to military fame.

Captain Greene, however, says nothing of these statements in his records of Tollemache's last words; but there were circumstances which he was recommended not to divulge, 'lest they might be construed to the prejudice of the living'.

The correspondence formerly preserved at Dublin seems to show that Marlborough and Tollemache were on friendly terms, and though Marlborough was undoubtedly a political opportunist, his life history shows that he was always a faithful friend. Marlborough was not at that time one of the Council, nor trusted with secrets of State, and was still in disgrace. On the other hand, the projected campaign was common knowledge at Court and with those who had friends in those circles. The fact remains that a letter giving information of the attack on Brest is (unless it is a forgery) in Marlborough's

own handwriting, and it is suggested by a competent authority that this betrayal of a brother officer and of his country was in order that he should keep in favour with the exiled King James II. There are two existing copies of his letter which differ considerably; one is nearly twice the length of the other, and the actual date of the sailing of the expedition is omitted from the second 'copy'. Lord Wolseley, in his *Life of Marlborough*, considers that 'the circumstantial evidence is too strong to admit of doubt'.

The Duke of Orleans when he stayed at Helmingham with John Lord Tollemache stated that he had himself seen the correspondence in the archives in Paris, and that the French had no doubt that Marlborough's letters giving a detailed forecast of the campaign were authentic. We have, however, definite evidence that a charge against the Councillors who so retarded the campaign was made by Admiral Russell, before the fleet sailed, and emphasized by underscoring.

'Britannia, St. Helens,
'May 21, 1694.

'My Lord;

'. . . This delay must lie where it ought, *on that driveller, the general of the ordinance*; [1] for had his bom-vessels and stores been here, they might have gone when I first went out, which was a time so advantageous to the design that the person I sent to Brest,[2] who came back to me the 6th of May, assured me in Brest besides the militia of the town there were only two companies of regular troops. I leave you to judge had we gone at that time . . . how great a probability there had been of good success tho' I cannot absolutely acquit the Treasury, in their part of the delay . . . I foresaw this inconveniency, and therefore often reminded the King in the winter at the committee of Council that care might be taken to have the fleet paid in time. I will not say where it stuck, but it is not hard to guess; and pranks of this kind will, some time or other, besides disappointing the services designed, put you to greater hazard, if not looked into . . .'

Lord Macaulay says that 'General Tollemache was a brave soldier destined to a fate never to be mentioned without shame and indignation'. It is said that Tollemache, through the jealousy of Marlborough, was compelled to land at Brest when the tide was falling so that he could neither seek assistance from the English ships nor retreat to their protection.[3] A monument was erected to his memory with a long and detailed description of his career 'descended from a family more ancient than the Norman conquerors'.

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[1] 'That driveller' was Henry Sidney, described by a cautious modern historian as 'an ornamental secretary of state, an unsuccessful Lord Lieutenant and a still more futile master of ordnance for which services he was rewarded, 5 May, 1694 with the Earldom of Romney'. He was King William's only English favourite.

[2] Vauban reached Brest on the 3 May, so that Russell's agent must have been there about the time of his arrival. The reinforcements sent by King Louis arrived afterwards.

[3] Mr Morley observes that 'General Tollemache was truly a hero, all that is greatly brave and glorious was in his composition yet emulated and traversed from above he was sent on a desperate attempt with unequalled numbers to lose his life on a foreign shore', Lieut.-General Tollemache, second son of Sir Lionel third Baronet and Lady Elizabeth, served in seventeen campaigns.

CHAPTER 10

Captain The Honourable William Tollemache, R.N.

WILLIAM, the third and youngest son, was sent to St Andrew's University to be educated. His father had died, and his mother, whose title came from the nearby town of Dysart, had again connected herself with Scotland by marrying the Duke of Lauderdale, whom King Charles II had made virtual Viceroy of that country. William was a delicate boy, and the air of St Andrew's was proving too strong for him. His mother was anxious about his health and wrote to Archbishop Sharp, who was 'Lord' of St Andrew's:

> '. . . I beseech your Grace advertis your doctor that I desire my son may be once purged; after wich about 14 dayes hee must draw 7 or 8 ounces of blood from him; 8 dayes after that repeat ye purge; after that purge a third purge 8 dayes distant from the former; and so an end. This is Sir Alex. Fraser's (Physician to King Charles II) method, and this my other children have observed which make me desire the same may be done by him . . .' 'I desire Sir William Sharp may gratify his servant, who has so well attended him with 100 pounds Scots; and that he will place itt and all other expences laid upon my sonn William's account upon the pin monyes due upon my Pension . . .
>
> 'May it please yr Grace, I am yr Grace's most
> 'humble servant,
> 'E. Lauderdale.'

When it was found that William's health would prevent him from finishing his course at St Andrew's, the Duchess was most concerned about his education and writes again to Archbishop Sharp suggesting that he should have a private tutor. The letter is dated 7 May 1676 from her rooms in Whitehall:

> 'I hope Sir Alex. Fraser will see my deare child, and as hee shall advise so I desire all things may exactly be done. I much feare the Aire of St. Andrewes may be too sharp for him, wch make me desire hee may when hee is able remove to Stonyhill (Sir Wm. Sharp's house near Musselburgh), and there remain till the season is fitt, and his strength will inable him to com to England, when I have taken some resolu-

tions relating to his settlement, and i hope his native country may best agree with him. All I am concerned for is his learning, wch my Lord is resolved shall be att hom with him selfe, so yt I doe humbly intreat yr Grace to give him such a Tutor as may keep him in his learning, and follow the same methodes as to his learning as iff hee were att the university . . .'

It is highly probable that the Duchess's concern for William's 'learning' would have seemed unnecessary to most of her contemporaries. But her second husband, Lauderdale, was described as 'the learnedest Minister of State in his age', and 'truely the honour of our Scots nation for witt and parts'. The Duchess herself was evidently considered in some degree an authority on education, for she was consulted by the Earl of Linlithgow in regard to his son. William's constitution was apparently capable of withstanding his mother's somewhat drastic cures, and he had been able to return to Ham House in the summer of 1679, bringing his great friend, young Lord Leviston, to stay with the family. She wrote to Leviston's father, Lord Linlithgow, from Ham on 24 June:

'Yesterday we were so happie to see my lord, your sonn, at Windsor, wher he was well received by the King and Queen, and most welcome to my Lord and mee. He brought me yr Lordship's obliging letter, which I received most thankfully, and study not to abuse of the goodness you show to me in reporting so much trust in me as to give me the care of my Lord your sonn. My Lord did advise with the French Ambassador concerning the best was for my Lord Leviston's advantage, and it is both my Lords oppinion as well as the Ambassadors, that your sonn do remayne with us untill neir the authime, and that then he should goe to Paris; in the meantime he may study the French language here. And I assure your Lordship both my Lords naim, as well as my own, that he shall be with us as our own child. He will by that means both be known, and also know our Court, and that will the better enable him, when hee does goe abroad, to apply his mynd to thos things which may be most for his improvement; whereas iff he should goe to France att this time, when the Court and the whole nobility of France are in the field, it would either bring him into a habitt of the worst company or tempt him to goe into action, which he canot be fitt for till he knowes the languige, and that he has had some experience of the world, more than his years will yett admitt him to have, or his modesty lett him pretend to . . . Itt is very late, and I am weary,

'So farewell.'

Apparently the arrangements suggested by the Duchess proved satisfactory to all concerned, for they were in no hurry to part on the approach of autumn, and the modest young man spent his Christmas at Ham and did not leave for Paris until the New Year. He was a great success with the family at Ham House, as the Duchess tells in another letter to his father, the Earl of Linlithgow:

'. . . Your Lordship has had such experience of his merite, I need not trouble you with the particular instancyes of itt; this I dow assure your Lordshipp that his cariage, all the time of his being here, was in all respects even as your Lordshipp could have desir'd so that ther wanted nothing to compleat the satisfaction of you both, but yr being together. This Christmas has bin a time of so much taken up upon the account of old customs in hospitallity, that I had not leasure to write to my friends. I hope yr Lordshipp will pardon my neglects of this nature sumtimes . . .'

Young Lord Leviston must have been home again before the autumn of 1680, for there is a friendly letter from the Duchess to him after his return to Edinburgh:

'Ham, September 18, '80.

'I have little to say by this post, and yet I must write to ye, to tell ye that tomorrow we go to the Baths. The Earl of Morray and Halton doe goe with us. We shall not return till the first weeke in Octr. during which time I shall not be able to write, nor doe I think we shall find a subject to write upon. Lundin goes to Newmarket, ther to stay till we return. The king has made Lord Lorne a privie counselor, which att present is all that can be done. No occasion shall be wanting, when my Lord returns, in your other affair. You know our way att this time att Court.

'Adew.'

It is not clear what was the 'other affair' in which Leviston was concerned, but it is evident that the Duchess's interest in the young man, who had been for so many months in her house and a companion to her son William, did not end when he had finished his education, and she used her influence at Court on his behalf. If she was, as Burnet called her, 'a violent enemy' she was no less admitted by him to be a 'violent' friend.

Meanwhile William had left for Paris in the autumn of 1679 under the care of a tutor, Mr Dunbar. His passport is dated 25 October. During the first two years of his life abroad we hear little of his experiences; the letters which have been preserved relating chiefly to the cost of living in Paris, which the Duchess seems to have thought somewhat extravagant. His tutor wrote to Mr Forester, who managed the Duchess's accounts:

'Paris, ye 29th October, 1681.

'Sir,

'I have sent you here inclosed an account of ye nine hundred & sixty livres wch I have received, as also ye ordinary acquittances with ye Taylors bill; you will in it see his management, yett turning of suits & mending boots & shoes will not doe it. He must now have two warme suits, one ordinary suit to ride in, & one better to wear when he goes abroad; it is as cold as ever I felt it in England, unless it were in extraordinary frosts. Mr. Tollemache is in good health; his cussin Allington is gone for

England, he will give her Grace an account of him. I hope to hear from you of your receiving ye account and acquittances, and that their Graces are in good health.

'I am Sir,

'Your humble servant

'J. Dunbar.'

'This day Mr. Talemach as youngest Captain leads ye Accadmists to ye last Attaque of our fort. This day a mine is to be sprung & ye fort taken by storme; it is much better sport & more variety of action than was the Duke of Monmouth's Dirt pye at Windsor.'

In the following month, however, a letter from Dunbar brought the tragic news that William had killed in a duel Mr William Carnegie, second son of the Earl of Southesk. The story of this adventure is told at greater length in William's petition to King Louis for pardon, of which a translation has been preserved among the Carnegie papers:

'In the month of September last (1681), Lord Carnegy and his brother having arrived in this town, and having the dwelling of the petitioner in the Fauborg St. Germain, they went to it; and when they had seen each other several times, the petitioner having perceived that they frequented Robert Fielders, that induced him to testify to him (as a friend and for their honour) that they should withdraw from him; as many other Englishmen, who had recognised his bad conduct, had been obliged to do, he being a passionate and violent man, capable of all sorts of enterprises, who had been compelled to leave England for wicked conduct. But the said Carnegys, instead of profitting by so good advice and keeping it secret, had not only contracted a closer friendship with the said Fielder, but had also exposed the said petitioner against whom Fielder had thenceforth conceived so much aversion and enmity, that in every meeting he could not restrain himself that he would serve him right by beating him with sticks, and even had the hardihood to come to find him one day in his chamber with a large stick and a long sword in order to execute his wicked design, which was prevented from doing only by Lord Dunbar, who met him there and to whom the petitioner immediately complained. And on Thursday, 20 Nov. Lord Valandin, having also arrived in this town the day before, came to see the petitioner, whom he brought to sup with him in his inn, Rue de Bouchiries, at the house of one named Hioust, where they found the said Carnegy brothers and others, with whom they supped at the same table; and after the repast the petitioner went out of the said inn with the said Carnegys and Valandin, and being almost at the end of the said street as it were to return each to his own residence, the said Carnegys and Valandin engaged the petitioner to enter into a public house, where hung the sign St. Martin, in which some time after they had been served with wine, the said Carnegy set himself to speak in favour of the said fielders, and to blame the petitioner for having so much despised him; and as he maintained what he had said to them before, and that their association with the said Fielders wronged them amoung honest people, the said

Carnegy flew into an extraordinary passion against the petitioner, and after the interchange of provoking words on both sides, the said Carnegy struck a blow with all his force at the petitioner, and drew his sword out of its scabbard, and even aimed a blow with it, by which happily he was not struck; the petitioner, feeling himself thus insulted would have given another stroke to the said Carnegy but not being able, they seized each other by the hair and by their cravates, and having afterwards drawn their swords, the said Valandin and the brother of the said Carnegy took them away and separated them; and about a quarter of an hour afterwards their quarrel being ended, their swords were restored to them. Then they all went out of the said public house in order to separate, the petitioner having testified to him that he was glad that the affair was finished, and passing the street of the Corvo Volant, the said Carnegy and the petitioner conversing of indifferent things, and walking some steps before the said Valandin and Carnegy the brother by an extraordinary passion and without reason, recommenced the quarrel and gave the petitioner a blow in the face with his fist, and immediately took his sword in his hand, so that the said petitioner seeing himself pressed, drew his sword in order to ward off the thrusts he was in danger of receiving, and lest he should be wounded in the right arm; and at that moment the petitioner having inflicted some blows upon the said Carnegy, he was wounded with one of them in the body, of which he remained so much hurt that he died three days afterwards, to the great regret of the petitioner. And altho' this misfortune had happened by the aggression of the said Carnegy, and by the obstinacy which the petitioner could not comprehend, seeing they had always lived as good friends together and that in this recontre he had only done what a lawful defence permitted to a man attacked, in order to preserve his life; nevertheless the petitioner had been informed upon and proceeded against extraordinarily by the criminal Lieutenant of the Castle of Paris, which had obliged him to withdraw and not to dare show himself without previously having obtained letters of grace, pardon and remission.'

Immediately after the fight Mr Dunbar, his tutor, sent William off to Brussels, where he remained in hiding until the end of January 1682, when he returned to Paris and gave himself up. His mother then sent out to Paris his brother, Colonel Tollemache, who took post for Dover on 26 January. The Colonel was then on leave from Tangier, where he also had got into trouble through killing a brother-officer in a duel. As she had appealed to the King without success, the Duchess was becoming distracted. On 10 February 1682 it was reported at Whitehall that 'My Lady Lauderdale's sone Mr. Talmadge is likely to be executed in France for killinge my Lord Carneckey's sone; she came to the King to desier him to write to save his life, but the Kinge was ingaged against him, so that she left the Corte'. William had, indeed, taken an inopportune moment to get into trouble; the reputation of his stepfather, the Duke of Lauderdale, as the successful maintainer of monarchical government in Scotland had been ruined by the rising of 1679, his influence with the King was gone, and much of his fortune had been spent.

News then arrived from Paris that 'Mr. Tallemache was condemned in 200 livres of

alms that prayer might be made to God for the soul of the said deceased William Carnegy and in 10,000 livres as civil reparation or damages to said Lord Charles Carnegy, and prohibitions were such . . . that he must not injure, wrong nor speak against the said Fielders'.

The Duchess appealed to his eldest brother, Lord Huntingtower, to find the money, and he did so, but rather grudgingly:

'May it please your Grace,

'I am most sensible that my brothers casse is werry desperate unles his liberty can be obtained with munne. The sum your Grace proposes to do is to considerable that if my brothers liffe was not the purchess I should think it a burthen too great for my estate; however if I should be obliged to pay it without your Grace's assistance in all probability it may occasion ye reuen of me and my posterity; it is your Grace only who is able to remove these fear and felosies, by doeing something, which may amount to more than a promise only . . .'

(It is only fair to say that Huntingtower afterwards withdrew this unamiable though business-like hint.)

'I cannot beleave my Unkel Bacon, if he was att home, is in a condition to furnish the munnie, for he toke up some but lately to pay his daughters portion, nor is there that Gentellman in these partis or person of inferior quality to be found, who hath two thousand pounds by him or can find such a sum in less than six months time. London is the only place I can think proper to put a dispatch to this affayre with greatest expedition att least where the munnie is easily procured uppon good security, which Mr. Jenner is best able to intrust, who knoes the estat and how it is already charged . . .

'May it please your Grace,

'Your Grace's most dutifull son and

'obedient servant,

'Ly. Huntingtower.

'Friday ye 10 of Feb. 81.'

(This letter is endorsed by the Duchess of Lauderdale: 'Lyonell's letter about his brother William'.)

Huntingtower found the money, the fines were paid, and William left his prison in Paris for Italy. From there he sailed for Tangier to join his brother Thomas in the war against the Emperor Mulai Ismail, who was within measurable distance of fulfilling his wish to drive the Christians into the sea. Many volunteers from King Charles II's Court had gone there to help in the defence of the town. William did not stay long in Tangier, and in the summer of 1683 he was back again in Italy, as we learn from one of his mother's

letters, which shows that as usual he was in money difficulties. William then decided to join the Navy, and sailed from Genoa to Cadiz to join Lord Dartmouth's flagship, the *Grafton*. The secret mission of the Fleet was to carry out the evacuation of Tangier, destroy the harbour and fortifications, and bring home our garrison and colonists in safety.

Among other celebrities whom William met on the *Grafton* was Pepys, who wrote to Evelyn from Portsmouth on 7 August 1683 describing the expedition. His mother took care of his financial needs, sending him a Bill of Credit of fifty pounds to Cadiz and thirty pounds to Tangiers. She also looked after his spiritual welfare by sending an express letter to Doctor Ken, who was the Admiral's chaplain on the *Grafton*, whom she describes in a letter to William as:

> 'A most worthy Person and my Particular friend, hee haveing been . . . the Person in who friendshipp my deare Sister did ever lodg the greatest Confidence. Hee was with hir at hir death and did Preach hir Funeral Sermon . . . I doe most earnestly recommend to yo his acquaintance, as being one of the Persons in the World I have good cause to place high esteem of therefore iff yo doe desire to show duty to me be sure yo doe in al things take his advice and counsell. He is Chaplain in ordinary to his Majestie . . . Tho' I dare not hope yo should ataigne to the perfection hee has of resignation yet, I doe pray almighty God so to give his Grace that hee may be in a great measure yr Imitation, and this I doe pray daily for, as also that of God's infinett bounty and goodness you may be preserved, to be yet a comfort to me,
>
> 'Yr most affectionat mother,
>
> 'E. Lauderdale.'

The Duchess's papers contain a note of the 'Cost of sending to Spain 3*s*. 4*d*., and thence 4*s*. to Cadiz'.

William's temperament would not allow him to remain long in one place, and, though the Fleet did not return from Tangier until 1684, he is home again in November 1683, and had already run up bills which drew forth a protest from Huntingtower. William was furious; indignantly refusing his brother's invitation to spend Christmas with him at Helmingham, he departed again on his travels, this time for Barbados.

His usual financial troubles very soon caused him to seek a reconciliation with his rich elder brother through the medium of his adoring mother, who writes:

> '. . . Your Brother William is much troubled yet hee should have given ye the least offence, and to the end that any mistakes may be removed hee does now make ye a Gifte, Wch I doe hope and desire ye to take kindly from him, for hee is good natured and ye must make some allowance to him for Being a Tollemach, and the Likest child I have to yr selfe . . .'

The result of this 'Gifte' was exceedingly satisfactory from William's point of view, since Huntingtower at once posted him out two hundred and fifty pounds to Barbados. Incidentally, his brother Thomas, who had temporarily been deprived of his commission in the Coldstream Guards owing to his fatal duel, had also just relieved the long-suffering Huntingtower of another two hundred and fifty pounds.

William remained in Barbados for about a year, and after leaving the island was captured by the French pirate *Boulanger*. After his release he made a desposition at Nevis 'before His Excie, Sr. Wm. Stapleton, Baron Capt. Generall and Chiefe Govenour in and over his Majestie's Caribeen Leaward Islands in America . . .

> 'About a month past hee went from Barbadoes in ye Sloop little Edward of London, Wm. Esterson Mastr, being bound for Saltertudeas with Some other Gent. about their lawful Occasions, and about Eight dayes after their departure from Barbadoes, being in sight of the said Island Saltertudas, a Sloop called the Granado, one Boulange Commander, with a Pareagoe, met us and commanded our Sloop to strike, who did a little Space after, and Commanded our boat aboard them, and presently after the Pereagoe aforesaid came aboard our Sloop, and the Commander of the said Sloop Grenade Strook this deponent (William) for Speaking ffrench as hee Supposes, and strook the Master of our Sloop likewise, for not Strikeing his sailes sooner, and gave the Deponent and Company, Severall Scurrilous words, and broak open one Chest and took Severall goods out of our Said Sloop as the Master reported to us, and likewise took Close from the Deponent (two Holland Shirts, two pairs of Drawes, two Hatts, fower Neckcloths, one Cloath Coate), and kept us all together with the Sloop under theire Command, for the Space of fower or five dayes, and brought us near their Admiral . . . and few Dayes after discharge us . . .
>
> ' Wm. Tollemache.'

It is not clear whether William managed to obtain any compensation for the loss of his clothes, but by April 1685 he is back again at Barbados and has fought another duel, killing the purser of H.M.S. *Diamond*. The details of his trial and sentence are contained in a letter from Mr Stede to the Earl of Lauderdale:

> 'Barbadoes, the 20th of
> August, 1685.
>
> 'May it Please your Lordshipp,
>
> 'Mr. Tollemache, sonn of her Grace the Duchess of Lauderdale, who killed the Purser of his Majesties ffriggott the Diamond in April last, being upon Baile, Petitioned mee hee might be brought to Tryall soe soone as by due and legall meanes hee might, Soe I granted a speciall Commission of Oyer and Terminer directed to one of the Members of his Majesties Councill and two of the Judges of the Island to try him, who caused two Juries, a Grand and Petty Jury of the best and most Eminent ffreeholders

of the Island to appeare before them to try him; which was done with due respect to his quality as well as full Care of, and Justice to, the Cause, and hee was found guilty of manslaughter, upon which (he praying itt) he was allowed his Clergy,[1] and chose rather to be burnt in the hand, as a means to save him from being appealed in England, then accept of a Pardon for ut; which (as the case was represented to me) I should have granted, but he was advised it would be more to his benefitt to undergoe the Sentance of the Law then be pardoned . . .

'My Lord,

'Your Lordshipps most humble and Obedient Servant

'Edwyn Stede.'

The narrowness of this second escape evidently helped to sober William, for we hear no more of these episodes. He may have realized that the fact that his mother was a Duchess, his sister the Duchess of Argyll, and his brother a famous general would not carry much weight in a third trial. At the end of 1689 he was home again, and (his mother having obtained a new lease of Court favour by the Revolution) he was given command of a ship and made a Captain in the Royal Navy.

But very soon William's roving spirit reasserted itself and he returned to the West Indies. Of his adventures on this his last voyage, and the name of the ship in which he sailed, no record has been found, but a letter to Anne Henderson, lady-in-waiting to his mother the Duchess, bringing news of his death in Antigua, is among the family papers. The letter is undated, but we know from more than one of the Duchess's letters that the news of William's death reached her not long before she heard that his brother Thomas had died in June 1694, of wounds received in the action at Camaret Bay.

Tradition has woven a legend around Captain William Tollemache. The story was even the subject of an article in the *Suffolk Chronicle* of 10 July 1914. It runs as follows:

'Having killed his opponent in a duel and fearing the consequences, his family spread the report that he had fled the country. In reality, he is reputed to have remained in hiding at Helmingham for the rest of his life. Being precluded from mixing in the society to which by birth he was entitled, he is said to have contracted a marriage with a farmer's daughter by whom he had a son Nicholas, who had a son William, who became clerk at Tattingstone Church in Suffolk.

'In Tattingstone Churchyard is a headstone with the inscription "In memory of William Talmash, who departed this life the 22nd of July 1804. Aged 83 years. An honest man's the noblest work of God."

'The legend as far as William being a fugitive at Helmingham, must regretfully be dispelled. As regards his marriage, he spent nearly the whole of his mature life abroad, and died so young, that it would appear to be improbable; neither is there any trace of

[1] This does not mean that he was in orders, but merely that he claimed the privilege of a medieval clerk, for which it was only necessary to prove an elementary education in order to obtain a lighter sentence.

his marriage. He must certainly have been considered locally as the black sheep of a very distinguished family, and it seems to be a case of "give a dog a bad name".' [1]

Lady Elizabeth, Sir Lionel's eldest daughter, married Lord Lorne tenth Earl and afterwards first Duke of Argyll, whose father and grandfather had both been beheaded.[2] Her portrait is in the Long Gallery at Ham House, and her two sons, John and Archibald, who became successively the second and third Dukes of Argyll, were born there in the yellow satin room.

Her sons were very different in temperament; John was a soldier from his cradle, and rose to become a distinguished soldier and a Field-Marshal, while Archibald was more of the lawyer type, an able business man and a wary politician.

'I wanted to discuss such an affair with my brother,' Archibald would say, 'but all went wrong, I saw the Tollemache blood rising, so I e'en quitted the field.'

Another family characteristic appears in an account of John, Duke of Argyll, by Lady Louise Stuart, daughter of Lord Bute, the Prime Minister. She writes of one of Argyll's daughters, 'she had too much of the Tollemach blood to be afraid of anything'. It was these two characteristics of our race which, as we have read, were so conspicuous in General Tollemache, and which may have led him to his death after the disastrous attack on Brest.

It was the third Duke, Archibald, who planted at his grandfather's house at Ham the Scotch firs, which are said to be the first trees of their kind ever planted in England.

Elizabeth's marriage was not a particularly happy one as her husband had 'a more than ordinary fondness for the fair sex; a Foible that is frequently met with in the greatest Men'. This led to a certain estrangement between the two, but Elizabeth was a woman of great character, with a sound business mind and enormous energy. When she was an elderly woman of well over fifty her daughter writes:

> 'My mother was hear (Rothay) last week in her way from Hester, wher she has bine but a month, and she was to ride on horseback home to Didston, which I think is fairly daft for a woman of her age. I declear she defets me, for I ould not be able to hold out her hiland journeys in the wether she undertakes them, and the way she travels. I have no news to write to you but that we are all well, and my son a fine boy as ever you saw; he speck but few words, but he has run alone these 4 munths and knows every thing that's said to him as well as if he spock. I wish either of my brothers had the like of him.'

It was a grief to Elizabeth that neither of her sons could produce an heir.

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[1] William died of yellow fever, at sea off Antigua.

[2] At about the time of his grandfather's execution the son of Lord Lorne being seven years old, threw himself out of the window three stories 'hye and was not the worse'. From this miracle the inference was made that the family estates would recover. This son of the Lornes was John, afterwards Duke of Argyll and Greenwich.

Sir Lionel's second daughter, Lady Catherine Tollemache, married twice. Her first husband was James, Lord Doune, eldest son of the Earl of Moray. This was a happy marriage, her only difficulties being with her father-in-law, who was continually trying to obtain money from her brother. He even grudged her the expense of her travelling to stay with her mother, who wrote to her indignantly: 'as to your coming up to London, it was so far from designed to be any expence to your Lord or to you that it did rather deserve some token from the Earl of Moray . . . Nor was your Lord at any expence that wholle time he stay'd in England, but did live in our familie.'

After James's death she married John Gower, fifteenth Earl of Sutherland. His portrait is also in the Long Gallery at Ham.

CHAPTER 11

Lionel Tollemache, Fourth Baronet and Third Earl of Dysart

LIONEL, LORD HUNTINGTOWER, succeeded his father in 1669 at the age of twenty-one as fourth Baronet of the Helmingham, Bentley, and Harrington estates. He had already taken his matriculation at Queen's College, Cambridge, four years earlier, when he was only seventeen.

On the death of his mother in 1698, he became third Earl of Dysart and owner of the Ham House property. He was exceedingly good-looking, judging by attractive portraits of him in the Long Gallery at Ham and in the Great Hall at Peckforton Castle. The author of *The New Atlantis* speaks of him as the handsomest in a company of reputed beauties. Notwithstanding this personal advantage, he was too much taken up with the burdens of his estate to take his father's advice to marry while he was young, for he was over thirty, an unusually late age for a man of his position in those days, before he began to consider 'the actions of your life upon which will depend your future happyness'. His mother even declared that she no longer expected to live to see his wedding. However, at the age of thirty-two, he met the lady of his choice,[1] Grace, daughter of Sir Thomas Wilbraham. A love-letter, which has been preserved, seems unusually incoherent for this self-possessed young man, and may seem somewhat affected to the modern eye:

'Whitehall,
'ye 24 of May 1680.

'Madam,

'I am under as great aprehensions of your Ladyship's anger as it is possible, but to conceale the passionate Love I have for your Ladyship's person I find it is not in my power, therefore I hope your Ladyship will pardon me for taking this liberty, being deprived of all other ways of makeing my thoughts known to your Ladyship, who as the only object of them possesseth so entirely my affection that I am not capable of any satisfaction or comfort in this world, but as it is derived from Your Ladyship by having a good opinion of me which favour that I may obtain from your Ladyship I am ready to lay myself att your Ladyship's feet; submit myself to your commands

[1] See illustration.

be they of what nature soever, or expose myself to the greatest danger and do all other things which shall be required from Ladyship of me, as a demonstration of my reale love and passion I have for your Ladyship, mine is of that nature that will oblige me uppon some desparet designes if I may not have access to your Ladyship's person, for to live I cannot without I may injoye your Ladyship's companie.

'Madam

'Your Ladyship's

'Most obedient humbel servant

'Ly. Huntingtower.

'To the most Honoured Mrs. Grace Wilbraham.'

The affair ran too smoothly for Huntingtower to be forced upon any 'desparet designes' so foreign to his disposition, for he and Grace were married within six months, as we learn from a letter dated 1 November from Lady Anne Montague to Lady Hatton: 'My Lord Huntingtower and his Lady is to bee in town very suddenly (shortly). They made her very great presents and she was extreame fine. Mr. Newport is now very suddenly to be marryed to the other sister.' This Mr Newport was Richard, afterwards Earl of Bradford, whose family were very old friends of the Tollemaches.

Grace was co-heiress with her sister, Mary, to vast estates, and she herself succeeded on the death of her father in 1692 to some 20,000 acres of land in Cheshire, including the ancient fortress of Beeston Castle, which had belonged to the Wilbraham family since 1269. She also succeeded to Woodhey, a very lovely mansion near Nantwich, which was demolished a hundred years later by the fifth Earl of Dysart to save expense. This property became known later as the Peckforton Estates, on which, in the nineteenth century, John Lord Tollemache, built his castle on the spur of the range of hills in the centre of the estate. Grace's portrait hangs in the Great Hall.

Lionel was a busy man; besides being Lord Lieutenant and Vice-Admiral of Suffolk and High Steward of Ipswich,[1] he was Member of Parliament for Oxford 1678–85, and for Suffolk 1698, 1673–4, and 1707, when, by the Act of Union, he, as a Scottish peer, was no longer eligible. He declined an English Barony which he was offered on the accession of Queen Anne.

He preferred the country to the Court, and his chief interest lay in his estates. His correspondence mostly concerns tree-planting, fruit-growing, stock-breeding, and improvement to his parks and gardens, particularly as regards Helmingham. It has been said that Ham was neglected in comparison with property less accessible to London. Though, as Evelyn writes in his Diary of 27 August 1678 of the gardens, 'inferior to few

[1] *History of Ipswich*, by Clarke. 'Lionel, Earl of Dysart, who was chosen High Steward of the Borough in 1703 was descended from one of the most ancient families in the kingdom which has flourished with the greatest honour in uninterrupted succession in the County of Suffolk since the arrival of the Saxons in England, a period of more than 13 centuries.'

of the best in Italy itselfe . . . the parterres, flower-gardens, orangeries, groves, avenues, courts, statues, perspectives, fountaines, aviaries, and all this at the banks of the sweetest river in the world'.

He also made his alterations to Ham House, by converting the Great Dining-room, which was over the Hall, into the present Round Gallery. In the management of his Suffolk estate he was ably assisted by his excellent steward, Anthony Bokenham, who kept him in the closest touch with local affairs, whether he was at Harrington, Ham, or Whitehall, or in Scotland attempting to settle his mother's quarrels with the Maitlands. Of the many letters which Anthony Bokenham wrote him, the following is a typical example:

Letter written in 1669 by the Steward of Helmingham to Lionel Tollemache, third Earl of Dysart, on his return from Scotland, where he had been to settle the affairs of his mother, the Duchess of Lauderdale.

'Right Honourable My Lord,

'. . . I had acquainted you long since, that upon some incouragementts I was resolved to make a throreg cleanse of the moats, but find it not of such dispatch (by reason of ye unexpected depth of the Mudd in one Quarter specially) as wee calculated, or as did the Undertakers, insomuch as I jug they will scarce finish mid-month tho they will now follow it with more hands than at first. I finds it a generall sense that the Mudd will, if rightly disposed of, quit costs; and better it can't be as judged, than upon the lowe close, which is almost over spread therewith. As to the fish, du care hath been taken for the presarvation of them, so many were the Eeles, as to glutt almost the neibourhood, and yet fully stock the cleanest part of the moate.

'Your stoc of Bullocs is very thrifty; the ten bought at Harlston at 4 pounds 15 shilling each are judged a good market; they'r indeed all thrifty & very likely to return well. The mare left by Mr. Brereton when last here is recoverable, says Rogers; but I question when and if ever perfectly. Chees & Butter att great Rates late Ipswich ffair; and ye factors give 20 & 23 pounds per load, wheat somewhat under 20 shillings per Comb. Barly att 10; pease 13 & 14. Oats 6. Beefe 3 shillings per stone. . . . Somewhile since Mr. Ellis (who married the Lady Barker) with one Mr. Atkins his brother-in-law, gave us a dinner visit, & so lately & more surprisingly did Mr. Gaudy, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Lacy with Mr. Bettingfield of Reding F., for whom by good chance I was so provided as to keep them from hunger and thirst, yea to heighton them to a briskness, exprest in Glasses to the health of your Honour and family . . .

'The wasps, I may say, have bid halfe sharers of ye wall fruit, both Apricot (of them more than half) Peaches, pears; some of ye peaches indeed I preserved at Crowall, & have hitherto preserved a few on the trees in hope of your timely arrive here; but no hopes of that I perceive, & so my care for the fruit is att an end so shall I, having

THIRD EARL OF DYSART (1648 – 1728)

From portrait at Ham by Sir Peter Lely

HENRIETTA CAVENDISH, MARRIED LORD HUNTINGTOWER 1680

From a portrait at Ham by Kneller

tendred mine & wive's most humble service & duty to your Honour & subscribed myself

'My Lord

'Your Honours most obedient servant

'Ant. Bokenham.

'Helmingham H. Sept. 25th.

'1669.

'. . . if your Honour goeth first to Ham, I hope you will at your arrival here find the Mudd-work well finished . . . According to the best calculation I can make from your last I have directed this the most probable way to meet your Honour in your returne out of Scotland, & hope for no miscarriage. Praying for your safe & speedy passage. Amen. Amen. To the Right Hon/ble the Erle of Dysart att Harrington in Northamptonshire these humble present.

Frank.

To be left in Harboro posthous in Leicestershire.'

Lionel was always exceedingly careful with his money, and he had barely reached middle age when his reputation as a miser was established. 'Lord Huntingtower', wrote Humphrey Prideaux in July 1696, 'is a very sensible man, and with great prudence manageth all affairs that he puts his hand unto; only having come to an incumberd estate, that frugality and spareing way of living wch his circumstances at first made necessary hath habituated him to that wch now he is out of these circumstances, is down-right stingynesse. For he, haveing now cleared his estate of ye vast debt wch he found upon it may very well afford to live according to his quality. After his mother ye Duchess of Lauderdale, and his mother-in-law ye Lady Wilbraham, he will have better than 3000 pounds per annum. For Sir Thomas Wilbraham had only two daughters to inherit his estate, wch was large . . . He (Huntingtower) lives most on end . . . in Northamptonshire; but ye principall seat of his family is at Helmingham 7 miles from Ipswich.'

He certainly suggested to his mother that she should make him some solid compensation for ransoming his youngest brother, and he refused to make the smallest allowance to his eldest son Lionel, who had married Henrietta, the eldest of the illegitimate daughters of Mrs Heanage and Lord William Cavendish, afterwards second Duke of Devonshire.

Henrietta Cavendish is spoken of in the Wentworth Papers as 'very pretty and well bred and has a great deal of wit, very like her Father the Duke of Devonshire'. In another letter she is described: 'Mrs. Henrietta Cavendish that used to kiss the gardener is married to Lord Huntingtower.'

There is a portrait of Mrs Heanage at Ham House painted by Sir Peter Lely, showing her as a rather voluptuous young woman with dark hair and large dark eyes.

The Wentworth papers described the marriage: 'Mistress Harriet Cavendish is married to Lord Huntingtower and Lord Dysart his Father says he "suspected itt and

could have hindered itt if he had pleased but he had known his Son would have hang'd himself or cut his throat if he should have hindered him'.

Mrs Manley in her *Memoirs* takes up the cudgels for the young Lord and Lady Huntingtower in no small way, and gives full vent to her somewhat acid tongue: 'Lord Dysart's parsimonious irreconciliable Temper has made him forget that this young Lord is his child, and that the young Gentleman can't but desire the Death of his Father, that Himself, his Wife, and Little ones may have enough to eat. . . . Relent, Relent, unnatural Father, before it is too late. Remember that 'tis but an impossible Attempt to carry the least Grain of that shining valued Metal into the other world where only the Report of your good and bad Actions here shall remain to you of all your Possessions.'

However, since Lord Dysart's grandson and successor was born at Helmingham, it seems doubtful whether he was really as implacable to his daughter-in-law as the world reported. One of the finest pictures at Ham House is of Henrietta, Lady Huntingtower, painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller, in which she looks very well-fed and smartly dressed in a becoming riding costume of blue laced with gold, and wearing a three-cornered hat.[1]

Lord Dysart was a man who was always conscious of his responsibilities, and our first glimpse of him is of a serious-minded boy, aged nine, writing in a large unformed hand to give his mother news of a little sister's illness:

'Novemb. ye 30.

'Deare Madam,

'My Sister Katherin (if your Ladyship remember) before you went to London, complained of a soreness in her throat, which now by degrees proves to be the same distemper which has so much troubled my father, her face and head are very much swollen, her eyes are almost closed up and blisters appeares in her face, she spits putrid matter, and complaines more than usual. Your Ladyship not being yet come home I give you this notice whether you will take advice att London for Mr. Kelsey went to Doctor Bails but found him not at home.

in hast

'Your Lady'ship's most Dutiful sonne

'Ly. Huntingtower.'

Lionel Tollemache, fourth Baronet and third Earl of Dysart, died in 1727 at the age of seventy-nine, and was buried at Helmingham, fifteen years after the death of his eldest son.

A marble monument to his memory was placed in Helmingham Church, as he had ordered. Lord Dysart is dressed as a Roman warrior in toga and sandals, with his wife Grace weeping beside him.

His services in Parliament, through years trying to Tory consciences, are described

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[1] As illustration facing page 97.

below as 'being much for the prerogative of the Crown and ever for the liberty of his country'.

His widow married again in 1735 when 'above 90 Mr. Warren, of Cheshire, Lord Cullen's Uncle'. She died in 1740 aged ninety-five, and was buried at Helmingham.

An interesting fact of this period is that the herd of deer were then in existence in Helmingham Park, since Lionel kept his mother well supplied with venison.

In Mackay's *Journey through England* he says: 'From Twickenham I crossed the river at Ham an ancient and noble seat now belonging to the Duchess of Lauderdale's Son the Earl of Dysart a Scotch title, he an ancient family and eldest brother to that brave General Tollemache who we knew abroad and who was killed at Brest. The gardens are well kept up, the house more neglected than one would expect for so great an estate.'

CHAPTER 12

Lionel Tollemache, Fifth Baronet and Fourth Earl of Dysart, Knight of the Thistle

LIONEL, LORD HUNTINGTOWER, succeeded his grandfather in 1727, and became head of the family for forty-three years, until his death in 1770. In 1728 he travelled in Switzerland and Italy and brought back the portrait of himself in armour, wearing a white wig. The picture is in the lute room at Helmingham, and is painted on copper. At the back is written 'Borsolo Nazavi Fecit in Venice 1728'. On his return home he wrote in excellent French a letter to a M. de Tresfontaines at the Academy of Lausanne (now the University) saying he had noticed that the Academy did not possess a set of 'instruments de précision', and asked to be allowed to supply this need as a mark of his gratitude for the hospitality he had received at Lausanne.

Lionel and his grandfather were chiefly instrumental in collecting many of the fine library of rare books which are at Helmingham. Some years ago a complete catalogue called *Bibliotheca Hamensus juxta Tamensis* was found at the back of a drawer in Ham library. It was stated to be compiled by R. Beaumont, Chaplain to the said Earl, who was for some time Rector of Helmingham. Joseph Brereton, a son of the steward at Helmingham, afterwards Vicar of one of the Cheshire livings, collected many of the books for him. Amongst these rare books were sixteen Caxtons. The gem of the library is King Alfred's own translation of 'orosius Historise adversus paganos' in a ninth-century manuscript; its discoverer and first editor, Doctor Bosworth, Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford, thought that some pages might have been written by the King himself.

Lionel married in 1729 at St George's, Hanover Square, Grace the lovely and talented daughter of John Lord Carteret, afterwards the first Earl of Granville, a great scholar and eloquent statesman, who was President of the Council during the Seven Years War.

The second Lord Carteret died when he was twenty-six, in 1714. His widow was created Countess Granville in her own right. She lived until she was ninety, so that her son, Lord Carteret, was fifty-four when he succeeded to the title. Grace Carteret was named after her grandmother, Lady Grace Granville, daughter of John Earl of Bath, and on the death of Lord Bath's only son his daughter succeeded to the Bath estate. When she was quite a child she was formally married to the second Lord Carteret, who was only a little boy. This was done to secure the possessions of the Bath family, and

DUCHESS OF SOMERSET, DAUGHTER OF THE EARL OF ESSEX, WEARING THE EAR-RING WITH LOCK OF LORD ESSEX'S HAIR NOW AT HAM HOUSE

From a portrait at Helmingham by Van Dyck

THE FOURTH EARL OF DYSART WITH HIS FIVE SONS AND THEIR TUTOR

From a picture at Ham by Zoffaney

after the formal contract the children were under the charge of their respective parents until they grew up. Such contracts were discontinued shortly after this.

It was Grace who brought into the family the lock of hair cut from the head of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, on the morning of his execution, Ash Wednesday, 25 February 1601. This delicate lock of hair clasped in a ruby ear-ring passed from mother to daughter through six generations. There is at Helmingham a portrait by Van Dyck of Essex's daughter Frances, Duchess of Somerset, showing her wearing the ear-ring which is holding the lock of her father's hair. She bequeathed the ear-ring to her daughter Mary, wife of the second Earl of Winchelsea. It was then owned successively by her daughter Frances, who married the first Viscount Weymouth, and by her grand-daughter Frances, the wife of Sir Robert Worsley of Appuldercome Priory in the Isle of Wight; and by her great-grand-daughter Frances, Lady Carteret. Lady Carteret left it to her own eldest daughter Grace, who on her marriage placed the ear-ring in the Picture Closet in Ham House.

There is a portrait of her at Helmingham as a young girl in a white dress with flowers in her lap and her hand resting on a pet lamb. She was only sixteen when she married. At Ham House there is a beautiful picture of Grace and one of her children by Hogarth. There are also full-length portraits of her and Lord Dysart in the robes worn by them at the Coronation of King George II. They were painted by Jan van der Banck, a Dutch artist who came to London in 1740. (Illustrated in this Chapter.)

In 1724 Lord Carteret was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. His daughter Grace was only six years old when she accompanied him to Dublin, and her childish beauty was the subject of several Irish poems. Mrs Delany (*Correspondence of Mrs Delany*) was related to Lord Carteret, and, in a letter written by her from London in August 1729, she mentions the engagement of her young cousin, Grace, to Lord Dysart:

> 'I went home with Lady Carteret from the Drawing-room in hopes of seeing the Lovers together, but my Lord Dysart went that morning to his estate in the country and does not return until next Sunday. Miss Carteret behaves herself very well in the affair, and looks neither grave nor merry, though she has no reason to be displeased, and I believe sixteen is more transported with the prospect than after they have attained a score of years. She has a better chance of being happy than most ladies in her station, because her father and mother are so indulgent to her humour that (although they have as much ambition as most people), yet they would not force her inclinations, which was part of the answer Miss Carteret made my Lord Dysart when he told her that notwithstanding my Lord and Lady Carteret's goodness to him and the encouragement they gave him, he should not proceed if she did not approve of him . . . I have not yet seen my Lord Dysart and Miss Carteret. He is very *Assiduous*, and every day more enamoured.'

Lionel's wedding clothes are still preserved at Ham House. Lady Dysart's two younger sisters, Louisa and Georgina, a god child of the King and Queen, both married in 1773; Louisa to Thomas, second Viscount Weymouth, and Georgina to the Hon. John Spencer, brother of the third Duke of Marlborough. Mrs Delany writes of Georgina's marriage:

> 'Our cousins are growing the most considerable people in the kingdom. . . . Everybody at the wedding was magnificent; Lady Dysart white and purple and silver; Lady Weymouth blue and silver.'

After Queen Caroline's Birthday Drawing-room she tells us that Lady Carteret's three married daughters were 'most completely dressed, and very fine figures they were, though very different beauties. Lady Dysart's face is handsomer than ever . . . her clothes were of pink armazine, trimmed with silver.' This was a silken material with silver threads woven into it.

A year later the mother, Lady Carteret, and two of her three married daughters were all confined within a few weeks of each other, and they narrowly escaped a serious accident. Mrs Delany writes on 28 March:

> 'Last Monday Lady Carteret with her daughters Dysart and Weymouth were going into the City . . . when the coach overturned most violently; never were three women more frightened or with more reason. No harm has come of it, considering the condition of the ladies, it was a most hazardous accident.'

Frederick, Prince of Wales, held a Birthday Court ball in 1738, where Lady Dysart 'was in white and gold', and 'was one of the best dancers'. At another Court Ball a year later, 'Lady Dysart was in a scarlet damask gown, facings and robings embroidered with gold and colours, her petticoat white satin, all covered with embroidery of the same sort, very fine and handsome. But her gaiety was all external, for at heart she is the *most wretched virtuous woman* that I know. . . . The ball began at nine; Lady Dysart was obliged to go between ten and eleven to her surly ill-bred Lord.'

Grace's greatest pleasure was painting and drawing. There are two portraits by her at Helmingham; one, signed 'G. Dysart, 1751', represents her second son Wilbraham (afterwards sixth Earl of Dysart) in a fancy dress, copied from an older picture at Helmingham; the other corresponding in size, but not signed, representing one of her daughters. There are also two tables in the Lute Room, beautifully painted by her with a design of sea-shells.

Grace died in 1755 at her husband's house in New Burlington Street, at the early age of forty-two. She was buried at Helmingham, her funeral costing £221, besides a fee of two pounds ten shillings which by law Lord Dysart had to pay to the poor of the parish by reason of her being 'buried in Linen'. Lionel made a personal entry in his 'Book of Accounts' that he had paid his wife's nurse a guinea a week during her illness, as well as

eight shillings a week board-wages, and that he had by her desire given a year's wages (six pounds) to her housemaid. He adds with a touch of feeling, 'To Martha Wright a Bank Note of Fifty Pounds, being ye Sum wch poor Lady Dysart some time before she Dy'd desir'd I would give her as she was her Woman who waited on her'.

Grace, during her married life of twenty-six years, had sixteen children, but many died at birth. Her first son, Lionel Lord Huntingtower, died within a year, and the second Lord Huntingtower died of smallpox when he was seven years old.

Lionel became High Steward of Ipswich and Lord Lieutenant and Vice-Admiral of Suffolk, and in 1743 was created a Knight of the Thistle. His Collar and Badge of gold and enamel are among the treasures in the Picture Closet at Ham. He also made his alteration to Ham House by replacing the old mullion windows by the present sash windows, and it was he, inspired by his visits to Italy, who was probably responsible for adorning the Boudoir at Helmingham with the white pillars, ceiling, and carved panel walls. At this time the family were at their zenith in worldly possessions, owning, besides great wealth and many priceless treasures, the Bentley, Helmingham, Ham, Woodhey, and Harrington properties. The Helmingham estate extended to just north of Felixstowe.

But with all his wealth, he was very careful of his money. He never allowed his eldest son more than four hundred pounds a year, with the result that when the young man succeeded he developed all the characteristics of a miser. Lionel kept in person the most careful accounts, and reached daily for his quill pen and red ink and entered in a hasped, tooled green volume, every payment he made. The complete records which remain are meticulous, clearly written and spelled. They cover the period from August 1765 to March 1770—the last five years of his life—and account for every disbursement from a halfpenny to hundreds of pounds. They leave the impression that, besides being careful, he was a good-natured soul. Here are a few of the entries:

Lady Huntingtower at her request to Buy Herself a Birthday Gown	£50	–	–
Kerridge of Ipswich, Taylor, so much be allow'd him with Lee's new Green Plush Livery which were never wore, and the Bill for them was 6. 16*s.* 0*d.*	3	–	–
Supper, Lodging, Breakfast, at ye Spread Eagle, Ingatestone, two Carriages greas'd, included 6*d.* to the servants	1	12	6
Charity to a Dumb Woman			6
A Boy opening a Gate			½
Sergeant Corn Cutter for Paring my Finger and Toe Nails		10	6
Two Colly Flowers		1	6
Putting in Five False Teeth	2	12	6
One Crow who Sung		2	6
For Five Nights Lodgeing Two Beds, two different times at Hayward's ye Upholsterers at Ipswich	4	4	–
Dr. Venn of Ipswich attending Jane twice in a Post Chaise	4	4	–
A poor decay'd Farmer		2	6
One of the Maids at Bawdsey for ye Use of Her Knife		1	–
A Fisherman for a Salmon Catch'd in ye reiver Deben		10	6

The last item must be very interesting for modern fishermen. The River Deben is a small stream which runs a few miles from Helmingham through the property, and although it broadens and becomes tidal at Woodbridge and flows into the sea at Bawdsey, it is difficult to believe that in those days the upper reaches were credited as a salmon river.

Lionel fourth Earl of Dysart survived Grace for fifteen years, and died in 1770. His body lay in state at Ipswich, where he had held the office of High Steward for forty-one years, a record which has never been surpassed in the four hundred years' history of that office. He was buried at Helmingham with great pomp and ceremony, but his parsimonious son erected no memorial to either his father or his mother.[1]

Of Lord Dysart's family of sixteen only five sons and three daughters grew up to maturity, his two eldest surviving sons, Lionel and Wilbraham, succeeded as the fifth and sixth Earls of Dysart, the three younger sons, George, William, and John, all died violent deaths, as did John's son Lionel Robert, and the story of their lives will be told in the next chapter.

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[1] *History of Ipswich*, by Clarke. 'On March 25th 1770 the corpse of the Right Hon. Earl of Dysart, High Steward of the Corporation, lay in state at the Cross Tavern in this town on the way to Helmingham.' He was succeeded as High Steward thirty years later by Lord Nelson.

FOURTH EARL OF DYSART (1708 – 70)

From a portrait at Ham by Vanderbank

GRACE CARTARET (1713 – 55), DAUGHTER OF JOHN, FIRST EARL OF GRANVILLE, WIFE OF THE FOURTH EARL, IN HER CORONATION ROBES

From a portrait at Ham by Kneller

CHAPTER 13

The Three Youngest Sons of Lionel, Fourth Earl of Dysart

The Honourable George Tollemache, R.N. (drowned at sea); Lieutenant, the Honourable William Tollemache, R.N. (drowned at sea); Captain the Honourable John Tollemache, R.N. (killed in a duel); and his son Ensign Lionel Robert Tollemache, Grenadier Guards (killed at the Siege of Valenciennes).

THERE is at Ham House a memorable picture by Zoffany of Lionel Tollemache, fourth Earl of Dysart, his five sons and their tutor. Of these the three younger came to untimely ends.[1] George started his life in 1744 under the pleasant auspices of having His Majesty King George II as his godfather, after whom he was named, and who gave him as a christening present the silver gilt cup designed by Paul Crispin, engraved with the Royal Arms, now one of the treasures of Ham. In April, Mrs Delany writes: 'In the morning Lady Dysart's son was christened; the King stood in person, the other gossips, Lord and Lady Carteret' (Gossip or 'Godsib' was the word used in those days for 'Godparent'). George was sent to Westminster School before he was ten years old, to the boarding-house kept by Mrs Porten, the aunt of Edward Gibbon, the historian. On 7 November 1755 his father wrote in his 'Book of Accounts':

'To Mrs. Porten mistress of ye Boarding House at Westminster ye Sum of Eighteen Pounds Nineteen Shillings in full of her Bill for George Tollemache's Board and Bills of Disbursements or Expences from December 14, 1754, to June 15, 1755. Ye Half Year's Board is £12 10 0. And ye Bills are £6 9 0.'

Education at one of the first-class schools must seem to us to be fantastically cheap in those days—now, his father's bill would be nearer one hundred pounds.

In 1756, at the age of twelve, George joined the Royal Navy, and in July Lord Dysart enters in his treasured book: 'Paid One guinea and Sixpence to ye Secretary of ye Admiralty being ye Fee for ye Order of ye Lords of ye Admiralty for ye Admission of Mr. George Tollemache to ye Academy at Portsmouth'.

We note that his father has promoted George to 'Mr'. A year later Lord Dysart presented him with five guineas for pocket-money, and on 26 July 1760 with thirty pounds, 'on his going on Board ye Modeste at St. Helliers on a Cruize'.

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[1] See illustration opposite page 101.

From this cruise George, who was only sixteen, never returned. H.M.S. *Modeste* was a man-of-war carrying sixty-four guns. Four months after he had joined his ship, and when she was about to enter Lisbon, he fell overboard and was drowned. In the Log Book of the *Modeste* on Thursday, 13 November 1760, the following 'Remarks' are inserted after the normal register of the ship's run: 'At one p.m. parted from ye Hero & ye Saphire. 5 p.m. Fell from ye Mizen Top Mt Head and was Drowned ye Honble. George Tollemache.'

There is a picture of George at Helmingham, painted with his sister, Lady Jane. He is in naval uniform, with white lapels and gilt buttons, his hair is powdered and he is wearing a cocked hat.

The fourth son, William, became first lieutenant on the frigate *Repulse*. This ship, originally the *Bellone*, was a French prize, renamed on her capture in 1759; she carried thirty-two guns and a crew of two hundred and twenty. The *Repulse* took part in many of Admiral Rodney's naval actions in the West Indies, and was lost with all hands off the Bermudas during a hurricane in December 1776.

In these days the tragic news would have reached the Admiralty in a matter of minutes, and been read by all the world in their newspapers in a few hours. But Horace Walpole writes to the Countess of Ossory seven months later, in July of the following year, of the calamity which had befallen his nephew: 'The *Repulse*, with all in it, an hundred and fifty sunk in a storm on the 26th of *last* December. This shows what early and certain intelligence we get from abroad.' And one of George Selwyn's friends, writing on 11 July, says that the *Repulse* 'foundered at sea between North America and the West Indies'.

A year later, Captain the Honourable John Tollemache, R.N., also came to an adventurous end, giving to our story the third recorded duel—this time to end fatally for the family. In 1773, at the age of twenty-two, he married Lady Bridget Lane Fox, only daughter of Robert, first Earl of Northington and widow of Robert Lane Fox, only son of Lord Bingley, near York. Lady Bridget thoroughly enjoyed amusement and mixing in society; she had plenty of brains, but a somewhat caustic tongue. Unfortunately, as so often happens, only the opinions of one's enemies are preserved for posterity. Lady Mary Coke writes of her, 'I own I am no admirer of her wit; she has so little *fond* of character and such a disposition to talking without considering (to say no worse) of what consequences her conversation may prove, that I look upon her as a dangerous person'. But she had a host of friends, and in the end her gay spirit was broken by two sad tragedies.

Two years after their marriage a son was born, and they called him Lionel after John's father and Robert after her father.

Two years later, in 1777, John, who was in command of H.M.S. *Scorpion*, was ordered to take his ship to New York, and he gave a passage in her to a friend, Captain John Pennington, Grenadier Guards, afterwards second Lord Muncaster. During the

voyage they had a violent quarrel. They sailed in the heat of the summer, the winds may have been contrary and the journey long, the days and the nights must have seemed very tedious to these young men, and tempers became frayed.

Horace Walpole in another of his many letters to Lady Ossory says that it was a foolish quarrel about humming a tune, but a contemporary MS. account of the affair, which is still preserved by the family at Helmingham, states that Captain Pennington wrote and sang some verses about John's wife, Lady Bridget. The matter became so serious that a duel to the death was agreed as the ship reached New York, and it took place on 25 September. The procedure of the duel consisted in fighting across a table in a room the door of which was locked. According to an account in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 'after firing a brace of pistols each without effect they drew their swords. Captain Tollemache was run through the heart, and Captain Pennington received seven wounds so severe that his life was despaired of for some time after.' John was only twenty-six when he was killed. He had just been promoted to command H.M.S. *Fowey*, a man-of-war, which was on her voyage to New York, where he was to take over, when the news of his death reached England.

There is a fine portrait of John in Ham House, representing him in naval uniform.

Meanwhile John's eldest brother, Lionel, had succeeded their father as fifth Earl of Dysart, and had already been married for ten years, without producing a child. The second brother, Wilbraham, who in turn was destined to succeed as sixth Earl of Dysart, also showed no signs of begetting an heir. So the hope of the family became centred in Lady Bridget's fatherless little boy of only two years old, young Lionel Robert.

Lionel Robert went to Harrow, and we first hear of him at the age of fourteen from a letter he wrote from school on 27 June 1789 to his aunt, Lady Frances Tollemache. He tells her about the Speech Day which had just taken place:

> 'I wish you had been at Harrow to have heard me speak. My Oration was Greek, it was Medea bewailing over her two children before she was going to kill them. I figured away in my Aunt's (embroidered) waistcoat and my Uncle's buttons, and perhaps they were more admired than the person who wore them. You cannot expect a very long nor a very interesting letter from a school boy, therefore for the present I must take my leave of you. I am your affect (nay, dutifull if you please) Nephew. Pray write me an answer. Never mind how short it may be.'

This letter is typical of a schoolboy, who, like all his kind, hates writing letters but loves to receive them, but the subject of his 'Oration' seems hardly suitable.

Lionel Robert had set his heart on being a soldier, and two years later he went to Dresden to stay with his aunt, Lady Elizabeth Eden, whose husband (afterwards the first Lord Henley) was a distinguished diplomat. By his advice, Lionel learnt to speak German fluently and visited several of the battlefields of the Seven Years War. He kept

up quite a correspondence with his uncle, Wilbraham Tollemache, describing very graphically everything he saw.

Soon after he reached Dresden he wrote:

> 'This is a very pretty town. Last Sunday I was introduced to the Elector of Saxony, who is a very great brute. He only delights in boar-hunting. There is a species of dogs here, some of them about three foot high, and with that immense size extremely active. They set on eight of these immense animals on a poor boar at once; if two lay hold of his ear they will stop the strongest boar. As soon as he is pinned and almost torn to pieces by the dogs, the Chasseurs lay hold of the legs of the boar and the heroic Elector runs his sword into his heart. There was an Englishman present some time ago at one of these boar hunts, and as a mark of favour he was offered the knife by the Elector as a gratification to kill, in so cruel a manner, one of these poor harmless pigs. He replied, "Non: Bien obligé, Monseigneur, mais je ne suis pas venu ici pour apprendre à tuer des cochons".'

Lionel had spent many happy holidays at his Uncle Wilbraham's house, Steephill, in the Isle of Wight, and he always longed for a similar cottage and a cutter of his own which he could sail himself. He says in one of his letters:

> 'Do you know, if it was not beneath the spirit of a military man, I could almost wish to live far from the noise of cities in some retired spot in the Island. A person ought to go abroad to see the *Perfection* of his own country, for the observation that I make at the end of my stay in England carries the day. I am now in the happiest and most fertile part of all Germany: the soil seems as fine as that of England and well cultivated, but the cultivation does not in the least alleviate the suffering of these poor peasants. It is an absolute fact that corn is a great deal dearer at this present moment in Dresden because the Elector has an exclusive right of building windmills, and he will not build enough to grind the produce of his dominions.'

The young 'military man' then returned to England to fulfil his ambitions and to join the Army as an Ensign in the Grenadier Guards. He soon went on active service, his regiment forming part of the British contingent commanded by the Duke of York in the war against France. In May 1793 the Duke of York commenced the siege of Valenciennes, and it lasted until the end of July.

On 2 July, Lionel wrote from the camp to his Uncle Wilbraham:

> 'We are yet before this unhappy town, which is constantly cannonaded night and day. The part near our batteries is a mere ruin . . . We expect them to stand an assault, which will be a bloody thing for both sides. Our duty is dangerous and fatiguing; a subaltern's duty comes round once in four days, to remain in the trenches for four-and-twenty hours. But this is the least unpleasant part; the greatest bore is the

JOHN TOLLEMACHE, SON OF THE FOURTH EARL OF DYSART, KILLED AT NEW YORK IN 1779 IN A DUEL WHEN TWENTY-SIX YEARS OLD

Original portrait at Ham

LIONEL ROBERT TOLLEMACHE, BORN 1775, KILLED AT VALENCIENNES JULY 14, 1793

Original portrait at Ham

encampment, and colds and rheumatism are the chief complaints. . . . Since we are encamped we have had one continuance of rain, which prolongs the seige excessively, impeding the conveyance of canon from the park to the batteries: in many places the trenches are up to your middle in water.'

Lionel Robert wrote once more to his uncle, who treated him not only as his heir but also as his son; the letter was found in his pocket and was forwarded to England with the news of his death. The garrison of the town had surrendered, leaving only the fortress itself to be captured.

'Camp before Valenciennes,
July, 1793.

'Dear Uncle,

''You will have heard before this that Conde is returned to the Dominion of the Emperor. I was there the day they (the garrison of the town) marched out, which was a sight truly affecting. The French Garrison seemed to feel their position, and I never saw a Countenance in which Despair was so strongly painted as in the Governor's: he was an infirm old man. The Garrison and the inhabitants looked very sickly and extreamly reduced from Famine,—by which alone the town has been conquered. I have seen a great many fortresses in Germany, but this is the strongest I ever saw . . . Our mines are in great forwardness and in about three weeks I think the place will be ours. When you answered my letter you had not received any of mine of a later date. We were not employed in the Trenches at first, but the times changed soon . . .'

This unfinished letter was probably written on 14 July, the day of the assault on the fortress. A bomb thrown by the French Garrison fell close to Lionel, and the future eighth Baronet and seventh Earl of Dysart was killed on the spot. He was only eighteen years old, and the only British officer who fell during the siege.

By an extraordinary coincidence John Pennington, by this time a Colonel, was also serving with the British contingent under the Duke of York, and as the lifeless body of a young Guardsman was carried past him he asked who he was. From the reply, 'Ensign Tollemache of the Grenadiers', Colonel Pennington learnt that the unfortunate young officer was the only son of the man whom he himself had killed in the duel in New York sixteen years before.

The body was brought back to England, and Lionel Robert was buried at Helmingham in the same vault in which the body of his great-great-great-uncle, General Thomas Tollemache, had been laid after he had died of his wounds from the attack on Brest a century before. The fine monument by Nollekens in the chancel of Helmingham Church was erected to his memory in 1810, with the following inscription:

'This monument was erected to the Memory of Lionel Robert Tollemache Esq.

Who lies buried in the Vault beneath. He was the only son of the Honourable Captain John Tollemache of the Royal Navy and Lady Bridget Henley, Daughter of the Earl of Northington. His Course was short, but it was brilliant, for at the Age of Eighteen he died nobly fighting for his King and Country. He was an Ensign in the First Regiment of Foot Guards, and was killed at the Siege of Valenciennes in July, 1793, by the bursting of a bomb thrown from the Garrison.

'His death was the more unfortunate, as he was the only British Officer killed on this occasion.

'He was a loss to his Country, for he was a Youth of uncommon Promise: but to his Family his loss was irreparable.

'The Father and two Uncles of this valiant Youth, like himself, lost their Lives in the Service of their Country. His Uncle, the Honble. George Tollemache was killed from the mast-head of the *Modeste*, Man-of-War at Sea: His Father, the Honble. John Tollemache was killed in a Duel at New York: And another of his Uncles, the Honble. William Tollemache was lost in the *Repulse* Frigate in a hurricane in the Atlantic Ocean. So many instances of Disaster are rarely to be met with in the same Family.'

Thus fell the young, the worthy, and the Brave.
With Emulation view his Honoured Grave.

The family received many letters from his friends in the regiment, and the Duke of York himself wrote to express his regret at the loss of a young officer whom he had considered likely to distinguish himself. An additional grief to the family was that Lionel was engaged to be married to his cousin Maria, daughter of his Aunt Lady Louisa. All the letters he had received from her were found in his pocket after his death, and were sent to her by the brother officer who had been his special friend in the regiment. Maria, six years later, married James Duff, fourth Earl of Fife, and was also destined to die under tragic circumstances—of hydrophobia, after being bitten by her pet dog. But the blow fell most severely on his mother, Lady Bridget. She had never been either a particularly kind or wise mother to her son, and now her sister-in-law, Lady Louisa, wrote that her grief amounted almost to frenzy. The letter continues:

'Lady Bridget had a strong presentiment of her impending misfortune, having received a letter from poor Lionel mentioning the day the mines were to be sprung, and after saying that he thought he should fall, he concluded the letter by taking a most affectionate and eternal leave of her. After the receipt of that letter she was so wretched that even the *certainty* of her misfortune scarcely increased her misery.'

Lady Bridget never recovered from this great sorrow, and survived her son for only three years.

CHAPTER 14

Lionel Tollemache, Sixth Baronet and Fifth Earl of Dysart

THE eldest surviving son, Lionel Lord Huntingtower, succeeded his father in 1770. Ten years earlier he had married at St James's Church, Westminster, Charlotte the youngest of the illegitimate daughters of Sir Edward Walpole, Knight of the Bath, who was the second son of Robert Walpole, statesman and Prime Minister, created Earl of Orford.

Sir Edward held successively the offices of Secretary of the Treasury, and Secretary to the Duke of Devonshire as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and he died unmarried in 1784 at the age of seventy-eight. He left three daughters, whose mother was Dorothy Clements, who, as far as is known, started life as a lovely milliner's apprentice in Durham. She died when Charlotte was born. The other two daughters were Laura, who married Frederick Keppel, Bishop of Exeter and Dean of Westminster, and Maria, who married first James, second Earl of Waldegrave, and secondly, His Royal Highness, William Henry, Duke of Gloucester. This marriage to the Duke of Gloucester, together with that of H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland to the Hon. Mrs Horton, prompted the Royal Marriage Act of 1772.

Charlotte also had a very distinguished uncle, Horace Walpole, the supreme letter-writer of his day, who is credited with leaving behind him more than three thousand letters with scarcely a dull page.

Lionel's father behaved extremely badly to him, and during his lifetime never allowed him more than four hundred pounds a year, which, even though the pound went much farther in those days, was little enough for him to attempt to keep up his position as Lord Huntingtower and heir to one of the richest men in England. And this meagre sum was doled out to him only 'so long as he behaved himself'. This stern proviso appears from the following entry in his father's 'Book of Account':

> 'March 25, 1750.
>
> 'To Lord Huntingtower ye Sum of One Hundred Pounds being a Quarter's Allowance due to him This Day: *dum se bene jesserit.*'

Such a parsimonious attitude had a terrible effect on the son's character in after life.

Horace Walpole wrote to announce his niece's marriage to his friend George Conway, from his home, Strawberry Hill, which is on the opposite side of the Thames to Ham House:

'October 2nd, 1760.

'. . . I announce my Lady Huntingtower to you. I hope you will approve the match a little more than I suppose my Lord Dysart will, as he does not know yet, though they have been married these two hours, that at ten o'clock this morning his son espous'd my niece Charlotte at St. James's Church. The moment my Lord Dysart is dead I will carry you to see Ham House, it is pleasant to call cousins with a charming prospect over you. Now you want to know the details. There was none. It is not the style of our court to have long negotiations . . . We don't fatigue the town by exhibiting the betrothed for six months together in public places. *Vidit, Venit, Vicit*; the young Lord had liked her some time; on Saturday se'nnight he came to my brother and made his demand.

'The princess did not know him by sight, but did not dislike him when she did; she consented and they were to be married this morning. My Lord Dysart is such that nobody will pity him; he has kept his son till six-and-twenty and would never make the least settlement upon him "Sure," said the young man, "if he will do nothing for me I may please myself. He cannot hinder me of ten thousand pounds a year and sixty thousand that are in the Funds, all entailed on me,"—a reversion that one does not wonder that the bride did not refuse, as there is present possession of a very handsome person, the only thing his father has ever given him. His grandfather, Lord Granville, has always told him to choose a gentlewoman and please himself.'

Three days gave Horace Walpole more time to learn further details of the affair, and he writes off a much fuller letter to Sir Horace Mann:

'As all the great ladies are mortal this year, my family is forced to recruit the peerage. My brother's last daughter is married, and as Biddy Tipkin says, though their story is too short for a romance it will make a very pretty novel,—nay, it is almost brief enough for a play and very near comes within one of the *unities*, or the space of four-and-twenty hours. There is in the world, particularly in my world, for he lives directly over against me across the water, a strange brute called Earl of Dysart. Don't be frightened, it is not he. His son, Lord Huntingtower, to whom he gives but four hundred pounds a year, is a comely young gentleman of twenty-six, who has often thoughts of trying whether his father would not like grandchildren better than his own children, as sometimes people have more grand-tenderness than paternal. All the answer he could ever get was that the Earl could not afford, as he has five younger children, to make any settlement, and he offered as a proof of his inability and kindness, to lend his son a large sum of money at low interest. Charlotte's noble father-in-law appears to be a miserly old cormudgeon though he has thirteen thousand

CHARLOTTE WALPOLE, 5TH COUNTESS OF DYSART (1738 – 89)

From a portrait at Ham by Sir Joshua Reynolds

pounds a year, and sixty thousand pounds in the Funds. The money and ten of the thirteen thousand in land, are entailed on Lord Huntingtower. The young lord, it seems, has been in love with Charlotte for some months, but thought so little of inflaming her that yesterday fortnight she did not know him by sight. On that day he came and proposed himself to my brother, who with much surprise heard his story, but excused himself from giving an answer. He said he would never force the inclination of his children; he did not believe his daughter had any engagement or attachment, but she might have; he would send for her and know her mind. She was at her sister Waldegrave's, to whom, on receiving the notification she said very sensibly, "If I was but nineteen I would refuse point blank. I do not like to be married to a man I never saw. But I am two-and-twenty. Some people say I am handsome, some say I am not. I believe the truth is that I am likely to be large and to go off soon. It is dangerous to refuse so great a match."

'Take notice they were *married in a week*! The love that was so many months in ripening could not stay above a week. She came and saw this impetuous Lover, and I believe was glad that she had not refused him point blank, for they were married last Thursday.

'I tremble for the poor girl; not to mention the oddness of the father and twenty disagreeable things that may be in the young man, who has been kept and lived entirely out of the world, he takes her fortune, ten thousand pounds, and cannot settle another shilling upon her till his father dies, and then promises only a thousand a year. Would one venture one's happiness and one's whole fortune for the sake of being Lady Dysart? If Lord Huntingtower dies before his father she will not have sixpence. Sure my brother has risked too much.'

After his marriage, Lionel made a great effort to obtain some sort of monetary deal with his father, however difficult the terms, and again Uncle Horace is our chronicler. He writes on 25 October, this time to George Montagu:

'Lord Huntingtower wrote to offer his father eight thousand pounds of Charlotte's fortune if he would give them one thousand a year in present, and settle a jointure on her. The Earl returned this truly laconic, and unnatural, answer:

' "Lord Huntingtower,

' "I answer your letter as soon as I receive it: I wish you Joy: I hear your Wife is very accomplish'd.

' "Yours,

' "Dysart." '

Lionel and Charlotte had to wait ten years before his father's death gave them full possession of their great heritage; a house in London, four valuable and extensive estates on each of which stood a stately and magnificent residence filled with beautiful furniture.

pictures, and tapestries, and a large fortune to provide amply for their upkeep and for every personal need that could be desired. How happy any normal young couple should have been. But Lionel was not normal. Years of repression and frustration had warped his character and turned him into a miserly recluse, and a jealous and unpleasant husband. Whether it was in his endeavour to reduce his expenditure, or as Uncle Horace suggests 'to preserve the venerable rites of his house', he would allow nothing to be renovated or altered, either at Ham or at Helmingham, from the condition in which he received it from his father. Uncle Horace wrote to George Montagu describing a visit which he paid to Ham House in 1770, the year Lionel succeeded:

'I went yesterday to see my niece in her new principality of Ham.

'It delighted me and made me peevish. Close to the Thames, in the centre of all rich and verdant beauty, it is so blocked up and barricaded with walls, vast trees, and gates, that you think yourself an hundred miles off and an hundred years back. The old furniture is so magnificently ancient, dreary and decayed, that at every step one's spirits sink, and all my passion for antiquity could not keep them up. Every minute I expected to see ghosts sweeping by: Tollemaches and Maitlands. There is an old brown gallery full of Vandykes and Lelys, charming miniatures, delightful Wouvermans and Polenburghs, china, japan, bronzes, ivory cabinets, and silver dogs, pokers, bellows, etc., without end. One pair of bellows is of filigree. In this state of pomp and tatters my nephew intends it shall remain, and is so religious an observer of the venerable rites of his house that, because the gates never were opened by his father but once for the late Lord Granville, you are locked out and locked in: and after journeying all round the house, as you do round an old French fortified town, you are at last admitted through the stable-yard to creep along a dark passage by the housekeeper's room, and so by a back door into the great hall. He seems as much afraid of water as a cat, for though you might enjoy the Thames from every window of three sides of the house, you may tumble into it before you would guess it is there. In short, our ancestors had so little idea of taste and beauty, that I should not have been surprised if they had hung their pictures with the painted sides to the wall. Think of such a palace commanding all the reach of Richmond and Twickenham with a domain from the foot of Richmond Hill to Kingston Bridge, and then imagine it being as dismal and prospectless as it stood

On Stanmore's wintry wild!

'I don't see why a man should not be divorced from his prospect as well as from his wife, for not being able to enjoy it. Lady Dysart frets, but it is not the etiquette of the family to yield, and so she must content herself with her chateau of Tondertentronk as well as she can. She had another such ample prison in Suffolk, and may be glad to reside where she is. Strawberry, with all its painted glass and gloom, looked as gay when I came home as Mrs. Cornelis's ball-room.'

'About 1767 great gossip was caused by the Duke of Gloucester and Lady Waldegrave appearing at a grand masquerade at Mrs Cornelis's assembly room in Soho Square. The Duke was dressed as Edward IV, and Lady Waldegrave as Elizabeth Woodville in gray and pearls and a black veil. The allusion was obvious.' [1] The Duke and Lady Waldegrave were privately married at her house in Pall Mall by the chaplain Dr Morton, in 1767.

Lionel's views as regards Harrington Hall in Northamptonshire and Woodhey Hall in Cheshire were, however, very different. Both were gems of architecture standing in perfect settings. The first had been added to the Tollemache possessions five generations before by Elizabeth Stanhope, and the second by his great-grandmother Grace Wilbraham.

We can imagine him as he sits brooding in the library of his moated home of Helmingham, or in the long gallery at Ham House, and saying to himself 'I have two great houses. Why should I go to the expense of keeping up four?—but nobody else shall have them. I will keep the land, since that brings me in good money.'

So he gave orders that they should be obliterated, and this he accomplished so systematically that even the sites well-nigh disappeared from the map of England. He not only destroyed the houses, outbuildings, and stables but also ordered their extensive gardens to be ploughed up, and their fruit-walls thrown down, the spacious terraces to be levelled and the carefully kept lawns to be changed into paddocks. He added to his vast fortunes by selling the old wrought-iron entrance gates of Woodhey Hall for £5 3*s.* 8*d.*, and the massive stone pillars from which they hung for £3 15*s.* 6*d.*

His passion for seclusion was so great that even a Royal Command could not open the gates of Ham House. On one occasion King George III sent him a 'most gracious intimation' that he would drive over from Windsor and breakfast with him. Lionel returned the following reply:

'Whenever my house becomes a public spectacle His Majesty shall certainly have the first view.'

Charlotte had no children, and was soon to suffer a long and painful illness, which she bore with the utmost patience and fortitude. Horace Walpole was devoted to his niece and speaks of her as being 'all goodness and all good nature'. He was much distressed at her condition, writing to Miss Berry in August 1780:

> '. . . I am too much engrossed by a sad misfortune too likely to fall on my family and on me. Dear Lady Dysart is in the utmost danger. Her case is pronounced to be water on the breast, and every day may be her last. She suffers considerably, but with her unalterable patience.'

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[1] From Violet Biddulph's book.

NOTE.—Charlotte was an unkind sister-in-law, and declined to present Lady Jane Halliday on her marriage, and the Reynolds portrait of her was put behind the hall door at Ham for many years, the key making a hole in it, though who hung it there I do not know!

Three days later he writes to Lady Ossory:

'From my own windows I see the tall avenues and chimneys of Ham House where my poor niece lies languishing and dying. She is still carried to air, and said to me two days ago: "I am not afraid now of crossing Kingston Bridge (which is very ruinous); I am too far gone myself".'

Kingston Bridge was then an old wooden structure, which was the first to be built across the Thames after the Great Fire of London in 1666. Charlotte lingered for many years, but was at last released from pain and the vagaries of her eccentric husband, and was buried at Helmingham. Horace Walpole wrote to Lady Ossory:

'Lady Dysart indeed was an excellent person, and I have reason to lament her. I had long known her doom was certain. She was convinced of it herself, was impatient for it, though calm and resigned to the last. Her lord is much more afflicted than I thought him capable of being.'

And to Miss Berry he sends a personal epitaph:

'I have had a most melancholy scene with the loss of dear Lady Dysart and the affliction of the family; though her release was to be wished and for which she wished most earnestly herself. We have the comfort of finding that she is full as much regretted as she was known; indeed a more faultless being exists not within my knowledge. I will transcribe some lines that I have written upon her which have not the merit of poetry, but a much more uncommon one—that of being an epitaph in which there is no exaggeration. However, I beg you will not give a copy of it.

Adieu, sweet Shade, complete was thy career,
Tho' lost too soon, and premature thy bier,
For each fair character adorned thy life,
Of daughter, sister, friend, relation, wife.
Yet, lest unalter'd Fortune should have seemed
The source whence Virtues so benignly beamed,
Long-mining Illness prov'd thy equal soul
And patience like a martyr's crown'd the whole.
Pain could not sour whom Blessings had not spoil'd,
Nor death affright whom not a Vice had soil'd.

Two pictures remind her family of the good and gracious Charlotte Tollemache, Countess of Dysart; at Ham House there is a full-length portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, in which she is wearing a dress of white and gold and holding back her skirt with her left hand—the picture was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1775;[1] the other is at Helmingham, taken later in life, in which she wears a white dress with a scarf of pale pink and blue.

[1] Picture facing page 112.

Lionel married, as his second wife, Magdalen, younger daughter of David Lewis of Malvern Hall in Warwickshire, by whom he also failed to produce an heir. She was the youngest sister of his brother Wilbraham's wife, from whose house in Piccadilly the wedding took place.

She, too, was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and is represented as a girl with a robin on her shoulder. The picture is at Peckforton Castle (built by her great-nephew John Lord Tollemache) and is famous as 'Robinetta'; it was painted in 1786 and engraved a year later. The Portrait, it is believed, cost £147, and was valued by Agnew in 1925 at £7,000. Lionel Tollemache, sixth Baronet and fifth Earl of Dysart, died in 1799 at the age of sixty-five, and was buried with his ancestors at Helmingham with much ceremony. After reading his life-story, it need hardly be added that no monument was ever placed to his memory.

CHAPTER 15

Wilbraham Tollemache, Seventh Baronet and Sixth Earl of Dysart

WILBRAHAM, who succeeded Lionel in 1799 at the age of sixty, was a very different character. His Lordship's manners were highly polished—of the old school—his conversation instructive, and his principles inflexible and honourable. He was conspicuous in his attachment to his servants and dependants, humane and generous. 'Nay, a noble man.'[1] As the fourth son of his father, and with apparently little likelihood of ever becoming head of his family, he had to start by making his own way in the world. He was the first of the sons to go into the Royal Navy, but transferred into the 6th Regiment of Foot.

He left the Army with the rank of Major at the age of thirty-two. Two years later he married Anna Maria Lewis of Malvern Hill, Warwickshire, whose younger sister twenty years later was to become the second wife of his eldest brother Lionel.

Wilbraham then became interested in politics and was a Member of Parliament for many years. His first attempt to stand for the family borough of Ipswich was unsuccessful. He declared himself a candidate to represent the Borough in Parliament, and the exertions made by both parties surpassed anything we know of. 'The money expended on this memorable contest was far superior to the expenses of modern times, and the party spirit raged violently. Meetings and processions were numerous and great convulsions arose, and the election took place on 10 March. Previous to this election many of the Freemen lived at Finborough Hall or Helmingham Hall, at which places they took up their residence for days and weeks together. Open house being kept for months at these places and various taverns in Ipswich. Balls were given by both sides to the Freemen and their wives and daughters and the candidates and their friends. We remember with interest a gardener's daughter giving us a lively example of the way she was seen through the orgies of the dance by Colonel Wollaston and Mr Tollemache in "Jolly Haymakers and Soldiers Joy", and we regret we never witnessed the humours of Election Balls.' A political squib of the period is quoted as follows:

A New Song

The Freemen of Ipswich are in a sad taking
They're caught in a trap, without cheese or bacon;

[1] From *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1821.

WILBRAHAM, SIXTH EARL OF DYSART (1739 – 1821)

Original painting at Ham

LADY LOUISA TOLLEMACHE (1745 – 1840), DAUGHTER OF THE FOURTH EARL, WHO LATER BECAME IN HER OWN RIGHT SEVENTH COUNTESS OF DYSART

From a portrait at Ham by Hoppner
The original was sold by John, Lord Tollemache, in 1901 for 14,050 guineas

Destruction and ruin attend them slap dash,
Unless they'll all vote for W–lb–m T–l–m–ch.

His father they say is as rich as a Jew
And as generous withal as the devil knows who;
He thinks of his wealth as mere dirt or mere trash,
Who will, may possess it, who votes for T–l–m–ch.

One K–r–by, a lawyer, has made himself banker,
All lawyers you know after money will hanker
His bags he whipp'd out to receive all the cash
To induce silly Freeman to vote for T–l–m–ch.

But the pert forward lawyer was made understand
No cash was intended, but mere notes of hand;
Such freemen as can be put off with a ——
May trust to their honour, and vote for T–l–m–ch.

As for those who by honour and conscience are weigh'd,
Who by paper and promise will ne'er be betray'd;
The devil shall toss them all up in a hash,
The devil's in the interest of W–lb–m T–l–m–ch.

Unfortunately, after all this trouble, Wilbraham was defeated! But a year after his father's death in 1770, he was elected as a Whig for Northampton. He held this seat for nine years and was then elected for Liskeard in Cornwall, which he represented until 1784. In the following year he became High Sheriff for Cheshire, where the Tollemaches owned large estates, and in 1806 he was appointed High Steward of his home town of Ipswich, the third member of the family to have that honour, six years after he had succeeded to his brother's lands and titles. He had no children, and it was a great blow to him when his nephew, Lionel Robert, was killed in action at the Siege of Valenciennes in 1793, as he had always treated him, not only as his heir but also as a son who loved to spend his holidays at Steephill Cottage, Wilbraham's little property in the Isle of Wight.

Wilbraham, sixth Earl of Dysart, was as desirable a head of the family as his elder brother had been unworthy. He had a profound knowledge of the world and of county conditions, and took the greatest interest in the management of his estates. He was cultivated and accomplished, and had inherited his mother's talent for painting. During his life open hospitality was kept up at Ham House.

His wife, whom he adored, died at Ham House in 1804, to his eternal sorrow. On the monument by Nollekens which he erected to her memory in Helmingham Church, there is an inscription in which he expressed the wish that all wives might be, like her, 'so loved when living, and when dead so mourned'.

Maria, Countess of Dysart, when the Hon. Mrs Wilbraham Tollemache, was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds in the character of Miranda, with Caliban at her feet and a view of the shipwreck in the distance. This full-length portrait was painted in 1785, and

exhibited and engraved the same year, and was one of the four pictures sold a hundred years later by her great-nephew, John Lord Tollemache. It was bought by the first Earl of Iveagh, together with the portraits of Louisa, seventh Countess of Dysart, and her sister, Lady Jane Halliday, and all three are now among the Iveagh bequest at Kenwood House.

After her death, Wilbraham could not bear to live at Ham House. Queen Charlotte paid a visit there in 1809, and writing to one of her family in her broken English, says:

> 'Upon the whole, the Place remaining in its old Style is beautiful and Magnificent both within and without, but truly melancholy. My Lord is very little there since the death of his Lady, for whom he had the greatest regard and affection.' She adds that the look of the chapel frightened her, and she feared to enter it. The Queen says: 'I saw this time the chapel, which is so dark and dismal that I could not go into it'.

Woodhey Hall, the family residence in Cheshire, had been demolished by his elder brother, and so he rented Calveley Hall, near his own estate, and wintered there for many years. In the summer he spent most of his time at Helmingham, and presented a beautiful peal of bells to the church. He planned and planted the Round Wood, with its wide walks, summer-houses, and statuary. There is an oak-tree in the park which is known as Lord Dysart's Oak. Under the shade of its branches he is said to have dined three hundred and fifty of his tenants and retainers. During the Peninsular War, the Admiralty wanted to buy the tree for three hundred pounds, but he refused to allow it to be sacrificed. (The oak now measures nineteen feet round the trunk, and has a clean stem of some twenty feet without one lateral bough.) But although Lord Dysart refused to sell his oak to help in building a battleship, he raised a troop of volunteers when the French were expected to land on the coast of Suffolk and maintained them at his own expense.

But, with his love of the sea, perhaps his happiest hours were spent at Steephill, overlooking the Solent, where his unmarried sister, Lady Frances Tollemache, was his companion. She died there at the age of seventy-one, and was buried at Helmingham. There is a pastel portrait of Lady Frances at Helmingham, probably drawn by her mother, Grace. She is working at a tambour frame, a parrot beside her and a white Spitz dog at her feet.

At Steephill, Lord Dysart kept his favourite sea pictures by Vandervelde, and devoted much of his time to drawing and sketching.[1] He left the cottage and all its contents to his nephew, Francis Augustus Halliday, a younger son of his sister, Lady Jane. He was very fond of Francis, and let him Ham Lodge at a rent of one barley corn a year.

Among other pictures, he bought Sir Joshua Reynolds' magnificent full-portrait called 'Thais', in which a woman is represented as springing forward, holding a flaming

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[1] Lord Dysart kept an elegant Brigantine yacht, and in those days ravens built on the cliffs, and the inhabitants subsisted chiefly by fishing. This lovely thatched cottage was in later years succeeded by a Castle built by John Hamborough in 1833 in a style approved of in those days.

torch in one hand and pointing with the other to the burning city of Persepolis. The woman in the picture is Emily Pott, who was the daughter of a blind beggar; she used to lead her father about the streets. When her beauty attracted notice she called herself Emily Coventry, from a fancied resemblance to Catherine, Countess of Coventry, a noted beauty of the day. In later life she went out to India, but died just as she landed at Calcutta. Her portrait as Thais was painted in 1781. This picture was another of the four sold by John Lord Tollemache.

Wilbraham Tollemache, seventh Baronet and sixth Earl of Dysart, died at Ham House in 1821, at the age of eighty-two. He was a great loss to the town and neighbourhood, for his amiable and benevolent disposition rendered him patron of the arts and sciences as well as friend and benefactor of the poor. He was a firm supporter of the blue interest at Ipswich, and was universally beloved and lamented by persons of all parties. 'On 23rd March his remains passed through this town when the procession was headed by his Lordship's tenants followed by the Bailiffs and common Council of the Borough in 8 coaches. A great number of horsemen and gentlemen's carriages followed the hearse forming altogether a most splendid and imposing cavalcade. He was buried at Helmingham, where his peal of bells constitutes a far more inspiring memorial than any monument.' [1]

The Tollemache estates were then divided between his two married sisters, Ham House going to Lady Louisa, who succeeded as seventh Countess of Dysart, while Helmingham Hall, the Suffolk, Northamptonshire, and Cheshire estates all went to Lady Jane, both families having reassumed the name of Tollemache.

The title for the second time diverting in the female line.

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[1] From *History of Ipswich*, by Clarke.

CHAPTER 16

Lady Louisa Tollemache, Seventh Countess of Dysart, and her Descendants

LADY LOUISA, born in 1745, and her younger sister, Lady Jane, both went to be educated at Mrs Holt's fashionable school in South Audley Street, at the strong recommendation of their aunt, Lady Cowper. Louisa went at the age of ten, and a year later Mrs Delany wrote of the good effects of the school: 'I was last Wednesday at Lady Cowper's concert. Lady Louisa Tollemache was there, and is extremely improved in her behaviour, was mighty quiet and composed . . .'

Tuition was cheap in those days, even at the most exclusive girls' school. Her father, the fourth Earl of Dysart, enters in his Book of Accounts: 'Nov. 29, 1755. Paid Lady Louisa Tollemache ye Sum of Twelve Guineas being her Entrance Money at Mrs. Holt's School in South Audley Street.' On her leaving school he made a still more detailed entry:

'April 13, 1757. To Mrs. Holt, Mistress of a Boarding School, ye Sum of Forty-Eight Pounds in Full of her Bill and All Demands for my daughter Lady Louisa Tollemache from Nov. 30, 1755 to Ditto 1757. a Year being then Due her Board £42.0.0 and ye Rest for her Tuition: Musick-Master: Allowance Money: Books: Shoes: Gloves: Ribbons: etc. etc. And Sundry other Expences.'

When she was twenty, Louisa ran away with Mr John Manners, with whom she had been in love for some time. He used to drive down to Ham House, climb over the railings and call to her, 'Lou, Lou,' from the trees near her window, and she would creep out to him through the gate in the garden wall. One day she went out and did not return. Mr Manners had induced her to cross the Rubicon by locking the gate behind her and flinging the key back over the wall. They fled to Scotland to be married, a three-hundred mile drive, and then, at her family's request, drove back to London to be married again at St James's, Piccadilly.

John Manners[1] of Grantham Grange was the son of Miss Corbella Smith, the daughter of the local chemist at Woolsthorpe near Belvoir Castle, and his father was Lord William Manners, second son of the Duke of Rutland, and a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to King George II. Lord William died unmarried. John went into Parliament and

[1] John Manners was a violent politician on the Tory side, of which blue was then the universally selected colour. To his political views are to be attributed the extraordinary number of blue public-house signs in Grantham and the neighbourhood to this day.

HELMINGHAM HALL FROM THE LAYS

MARIA TOLLEMACHE, AFTERWARDS MARCHIONESS OF AILESBURY, DIED 1893

From a portrait in possession of Lady Forester by Chalons

succeeded to Buckminster Park, near Grantham, with its extensive and valuable estate of some thirty thousand acres.

Louisa had ten children, who all assumed the Tollemache name. On the death of her brother in 1821, when she was seventy-six, she succeeded him as seventh Countess of Dysart and inherited the Ham House property. All the Tollemache estates in Suffolk, Northamptonshire, and Cheshire went to her sister Lady Jane, but Helmingham was left to Louisa for her life.

Born in the time of King George II, she lived through five reigns into that of Queen Victoria. Beautiful in her youth, as her portrait shows, she became in old age totally blind. She worshipped her pet dogs—the terror of her guests. On one occasion a dog set its teeth in the leg of a visitor; on hearing what had occurred Lady Dysart only remarked, 'Poor dog, I hope this won't make him sick'. 'Lady Dysart employed a girl to tend the hawks and falcons she had inherited from her brother. They were carried out into the park on a large hoop, which enthralled the Rector's children.' [1]

Up to the last she drove out in a gorgeous carriage always drawn by four horses with two postillions and two outriders. She used to drive about Helmingham Park in a miniature chariot, painted green and gold and drawn by two ponies. The chariot is still at Helmingham, and the many little bridges across the gullies of the park were built to bear its weight.

Lady Sudely writes: 'In striking contrast to her imperious ancestress in all the moral qualities, Louisa, Countess of Dysart in her own right, was also greatly her superior in beauty and not far short of her in intellect. She was the eldest surviving daughter of the fourth Earl of Dysart and outliving her five brothers, none of whom leaving any children, she succeeded to the title in 1821. Revered and loved by all who knew her, she died at Ham at the age of 95 and was succeeded by her grandson (who was Grandfather to the late Earl and the present Baronet, Sir Lyonel Tollemache).'

A full-length portrait of Lady Dysart was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds in 1779, and she was said to have been sixty years old when she sat for Hoppner's famous portrait of her as 'a peasant in woodland dress'. There are several copies of this picture—the one by Constable is now at Ham House—but the authentic original was left to her granddaughter, Maria Tollemache, Marchioness of Ailesbury, who left it to her only son, and on his death it was sold for fourteen thousand and fifty pounds to the late Lord Iveagh, and is still in the collection of the Iveagh Bequest—as is also the 'Honourable Mrs. Tollemache' wife of the sixth Earl as 'Miranda'.

Louisa was a great patron of Constable, and among his most famous landscapes is that of 'Helmingham Dell'.

The Tollemache baronetcy, one of the original eighteen created in 1611 by King James I, was re-created in 1793 for Louisa's eldest son William Lord Huntingtower.

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[1] From the Rev A. H. Bellman's recollections.

Louisa was great-great-grandmother of the late Earl of Dysart and the present Baronet, Sir Lyonel Tollemache.

She lived to be ninety-five, dying at Ham House in 1840, and was buried at Helmingham. Her son William married Catherine, daughter of Frances Gray of Lehone, County Cork, and she bore him twelve children. She was a beautiful and saintly woman who wrote several books of rhymes and was painted by Cosway and by Lawrence.

I have had permission to add the following extracts from the reminiscences of the Rev. A. H. Bellman, whose father was the Rector of Helmingham over a hundred years ago and who was himself curate there.

'We used to go for walks in Helmingham Park in which there were (and are still) a large number of fallow and red deer and many beautiful oak trees. Helmingham Park abuts on the Rectory grounds and the Hall is about a quarter of a mile off. A splendid old building with a moat entirely round it, having two draw bridges. There is a court yard in the centre in which I saw on one occasion three carriages with four horses to each, which gives some idea of its size.

'Louisa Lady Dysart, who was 90, resided in the Hall for some months every year, accompanied by her granddaughter Maria Tollemache (her father being The Hon. Charles Tollemache) who became afterwards The Marchioness of Ailesbury. Lady Dysart did not get up until 4 in the afternoon, so that Miss Tollemache spent most of her time at our house and I remember her as very beautiful. I used to meet her every morning at 8 a.m. when she came down to some ponds, called the "Leys", to feed the wild duck and teal. She used to wear a bonnet very like the basket she brought the food in.

'Lady Dysart must have been fond of children as we often went up to dine there and thought it so grand to eat off silver plates and to be waited on by men with powdered hair, but I remember how I dreaded the dogs. She used to have about 9 in the room.

'We used to have in our garden a grove full of nut trees and often dug up human bones, which we supposed was because it adjoined the church yard, but some years afterwards it was carefully searched by digging down deeper and it was found all the bones were of young men and from the great number of them, there must have been a battle fought very near and the killed were buried in this place.

'The large red deer in the park are very savage in October and are known to have killed three men. During the season of killing the deer we almost lived on venison as besides the haunches given to my father he used to buy any joints at 6d a pound, and when the fawns were born we used to have some of them to eat. I have often gone in search of them in the low places and cut their ears according to the way the game keeper told me was the cut for that year, and unless they were caught when a day or two old, it was difficult to catch them afterwards. According to the cut each year of one or both ears

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NOTE.—Lady Louisa when young is said to have asked her uncle to drill her so that she could drill her footman.

the age of every deer in the park was known. When the fawns were killed for eating the keeper used to ride full gallop at the herd of deer and when a fawn was singled out it was shot by him when riding at full gallop. The other deer were shot by the keeper hidden in a tree and the herd driven past the tree.

'In later years when I went home after studying at Cambridge I became curate to my father, occasionally taking the services at Helmingham church. Mr. John Tollemache, who had succeeded Lady Dysart and who afterwards became Lord Tollemache, was then possessor of Helmingham Hall and estates and with Mrs. Tollemache came to reside at the Hall for several months every year. They were both very religious and Mrs. Tollemache was very kind to the poor. There were generally a large number of their friends staying at the Hall and the neighbours were often entertained to dinner. I used to dine there 2 or 3 times a week. At 9 o'clock a large bell was rung and all the company in the drawingroom and all the servants assembled in the great hall, sometimes as many as 40 were present. A table with candles and a Bible were placed at one end of the hall where I read a chapter and offered up prayers and then all went back to the drawingroom Those invited from outside left about 10.30 when the draw bridge was let down and raised again when we were gone.'

The Younger Children of Louisa, Countess of Dysart

Lionel, eighth Earl of Dysart—the hermit of Norfolk Street—had three brothers and four sisters.

Maria met a gruesome fate six years after her marriage to Colonel James Duff, afterwards fourth Earl of Fife. In 1805, while she and her husband were wintering in Edinburgh, a mad dog bit three of the Colonel's dogs and Maria's pet lap-dog, Pompey. The three large dogs were at once destroyed, but nothing would induce Maria to sacrifice Pompey.

Eight months later, when Pompey was dozing peacefully on her lap, he suddenly started up and bit her nose. The wound was a mere scratch, but in the course of a few days symptoms of hydrophobia appeared and she died in dreadful agony.

The doctors attending Maria 'resorted to the only treatment' for hydrophobia then practised, and it was believed in Edinburgh that in carrying it out they suffocated her between two feather-beds.

Maria was to have been at a ball that night, and the news of her terrible death caused a great sensation, for this very pretty young wife was immensely popular. It was thought an aggravation of the tragedy that she had just ordered new liveries and French silk stockings for her footmen in preparation for the winter season in Edinburgh.

Her body was laid in the family vault beneath Helmingham Church, but was taken back to Scotland as soon as her husband had completed a mausoleum at his own home.

Maria was painted standing on a globe of the world by Cosway, who also painted her elder sister Catherine as Hope, leaning on an anchor.

Catherine married Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Bart., of Normanton Park near Stamford. Her son was the first Lord Aveland, and her grandson was created Earl of Ancaster.

Louisa, the third sister, married Aubrey de Vere, sixth Duke of St Albans. Their happy married life was clouded only by the long-unfulfilled desire for a son. At last, in April 1815, after thirteen years, a son was born to them, but in August the Duke died. Louisa and the infant seventh Duke survived him for only six months, Louisa dying three hours after her ten-months-old son.

Laura, the youngest of the sisters, had a strange experience of marriage. In 1808, with the full consent of her family, she married John Dalrymple, afterwards the seventh Earl of Stair. Unfortunately, some years beforehand, when his regiment was quartered at Edinburgh, he had made promises of marriage to a Miss Jacky Gordon. A trial under Scottish law ensued, and poor Lady Laura's marriage was annulled. She returned to her maiden name and mother, and lived at Ham until her death in 1834.

John Dalrymple succeeded in freeing himself from the tenacious Miss Gordon, but not in persuading Laura again to become his wife.

John Tollemache, the second brother, married Mary, Duchess of Roxburgh, the widow of the fourth Duke. He appears in Dighton's coloured print, 'A View in Portman Square'.

Maria, Marchioness of Ailesbury—a famous beauty, and one of the great figures of Victorian Society—was the daughter of Charles, the third and youngest brother, and his second wife, Gertrude Felinda, daughter of General Gardiner, whose mother was one of Queen Charlotte's maids of honour.

Gertrude Felinda was somewhat jealous of her beautiful daughter Maria, and once cut off her lovely golden curls. She sent her to live with her grandmother, Louisa, the seventh Countess of Dysart, who spent three months a year at Helmingham—a lonely life for Maria, since her grandmother never left her bed till four in the afternoon.

Mr Bellman, the Rector of Helmingham's son, writes[1] that he used to meet the beautiful Miss Tollemache every morning at eight o'clock when she went down to the pond—known as the leys—with a basket to feed the wild duck and teal.

The great Duke of Wellington wanted to marry Maria. He rode up to her father's house only to be told that her betrothal to the first Marquess of Ailesbury had just been announced. Muttering 'Too late, too late', the Duke remounted and galloped away.

Maria was married in the chapel of Ham House. She lived in great state, never engaging a manservant under six feet tall, and whenever guests arrived her hall was lined with a splendid array of liveried flunkeys. But as she usually lunched or dined out, and rarely gave any warning to her staff when she herself was entertaining, her guests were often hungry.

Maria had no children, and her husband was succeeded by her stepson, Lord Bruce,

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[1] Footnote from the Rev Bellman's recollections.

of whom she was very fond. Bruce also succeeded the seventh Earl of Cardigan, of Light Brigade fame, whose first wife had been Elizabeth Tollemache, Maria's first cousin once removed.

Maria survived her husband by thirty-seven years, dying in 1893. She was a stickler for manners in the young, and used to give long lectures on this subject to her youthful relations, and then wipe her mouth on the tablecloth, a habit customary in her earlier days.

Augustus Hare, in his eyewitness account of the arrival of the peers and peeresses at Westminster Abbey for Victoria's Golden Jubilee, writes: 'A figure which attracted more attention than any other was that of Maria, Lady Ailesbury, except her three Cambridge cousins and her two pages, the sole survivor of all those represented in the great picture of the Queen's coronation.'

Besides Maria, Marchioness of Ailesbury, the Hon. Charles Tollemache had three other children.

Louisa married her cousin, Algernon Tollemache, who lived at Ham with his brother Frederick and was the guardian of the ninth Earl.

William married Anna Maria, daughter of the second Duke of Somerset. He inherited most of the possessions of his aunt, Lady Laura, including those bequeathed to her by her sister Louisa, Duchess of St Albans. They had two daughters, Emma, the second wife of the fourth Lord Forester, and Matilda, wife of Captain Marcus Hare, who went down with all hands on his ship the *Eurydice* in sight of harbour in March 1878. Their grandchildren are Priscilla, wife of the sixth Baron Forester; Helena, Viscountess Maitland, whose husband was killed in the late war; and Charles, who married the daughter of Sir George Sinclair, Bart., of Caithness, grandfather of Sir Archibald Sinclair.

NOTE.—There is a delightful picture of Lady Ailesbury by Chalons in the possession of Priscilla Lady Forrester as illustration facing page 123.

CHAPTER 17

The Eighth and Ninth Earls of Dysart and their Descendants

LIONEL TOLLEMACHE, eighth Earl of Dysart, was strikingly handsome as a young man. He appears in Ferneley's picture of the Belvoir Hunt in full cry across the park at Buckminster.

The eldest son of William, Lord Huntingtower, he succeeded his father to the re-created baronetcy in 1833 and his grandmother to the earldom in 1840. In 1819 he married his cousin—a daughter of Sweeny Toone of Keston in Kent.

Later in life Lionel developed a distaste for spending money and a liking for solitude. He saw little of his great heritage, and rarely went outside his London house in Norfolk Street, to which the fruits and flowers of Ham and Buckminster were sent.

One day he was persuaded to leave his house for a drive, and was taken around Regent's Park in a barouche. He was astounded by the new mansions. 'Why,' he exclaimed in bewilderment, 'the last time I came here it was to shoot pheasants!'

In the end he would see no one. He kept to one room of his chosen hermitage, a few yards from the milling crowds in the Strand. His meals were handed to him through a trapdoor.

Lord Dysart shed a new light on the word 'economy'. One day he sent for his bootmaker and thrust his right foot through the trapdoor to be measured. 'How many pairs, m'lord?' asked the tradesman. 'Pairs?' said the Earl. 'I want one boot. T'other's all right.'

Framed on the wall of his room, perhaps symbolically, there hung one of the only two £10,000 bank-notes ever printed.

When the sale of shares for the construction of the Great Northern Railway were first put on the market, Lord Dysart is said to have sent for his housekeeper and filled her apron with bank-notes and told her to go and buy shares with them. One can imagine the astonishment of the beholders when she produced about £150,000 out of her apron.

His eldest son, William, Lord Huntingtower, married Katherine Burke, a daughter of Sir Joseph Burke. She was much beloved by the Tollemache family, but Lord Huntingtower himself soon tired of her.

When one day it was announced that she was returning to Ham, he had a black crepe bow tied round the leg of every animal on the estate and sent a cortège garbed in

HAM HOUSE FROM THE SOUTH SIDE

complete funeral attire to meet her. Six horses with black plumes and draped with black clothing drew the closed carriage, and the footmen, behind and in front, were dressed in ceremonial funereal garb.

He disliked the bother of having to ring bells, so he ordered a heavy weight to be installed in each of his rooms, which he used to drop on the floor if he wanted to summon anyone.[1]

In addition to his wife, Huntingtower supported two mistresses, who both presented him with large families. He died in the lifetime of his father.

William, the ninth Earl, succeeded his grandfather in 1878, six years after his father's death.

At the age of five he was sent to Mr Chittendon's famous preparatory school in Hertfordshire. The small child suffering from partial blindness and of a very nervous temperament must have suffered far more than he gained from this separation from a most loving mother.

Travel, music, horses, and gambling in stocks and shares delighted him all his life. He had great taste and interest in music, and went yearly to the Bayreuth festivals. German opera was his passion—Beethoven and Wagner—and he gave lavishly to its support in England. He gave to any cause which, like music, was near his heart: to the education of all students, but especially those of music. At Buckminster he converted the stables, which formed a wing of the house, into a spacious music *salon*.

A born horseman and undaunted by his blindness, Lord Dysart rode regularly with a leading rein from his bridle held by a mounted groom. He had an extraordinarily soothing effect on horses, and would wander alone into the boxes of the worst-tempered of his animals.

His sumptuous week-end parties at Ham and Buckminster belie the charges of meanness often made against him.

Gambling in stocks and shares was a favourite hobby for which he had ample scope, for, after spending £25,000 of his income a year on the upkeep of Ham and Buckminster, he still had some £60,000 a year left for re-investment. His judgement was rarely at fault.

Lord Dysart often spoke his thoughts *sotto voce*. An obsequious company promoter was rather taken aback when the Earl muttered several times: 'Throw a sprat to catch a herring'. Once at Buckminster the lady on his right at dinner was disconcerted to hear her host murmuring: 'What a boring woman. What a boring woman.'

He married Florence Newton of Croxton Park, Cambridgeshire, who after some years felt her life too difficult, and ordered her carriage at Ham one day and drove to London. The carriage returned without Lady Dysart. When her husband spoke of this he would say that he never resented her leaving him. The only thing he did mind was that she never said good-bye. This he felt was a failure in manners.

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[1] These weights are still in existence.

With all his eccentricities and queer ways, he died with the affection of his household and those of his family and friends, who knew the good qualities that lay beneath the somewhat cantankerous exterior.

He died in 1935, leaving £4,800,000, of which even in those days the Chancellor of the Exchequer took sixty per cent.

He was succeeded in the Earldom by Wenefryde, the charming only child of his elder sister Agnes, wife of Charles Scott, a keen sportsman and a great link with the past. It was difficult for Charles Scott's younger relations to realize that this meticulously dressed old gentleman had once hunted buffalo on the plains of America and had helped to hold an improvised breastwork of covered wagons against a Sioux Indian war party.

Wenefryde and her husband, Owain Greaves, Royal Horse Guards, made Stobo Castle, Peebleshire, their family home.

So after three centuries the Earldom of Dysart recrossed the Tweed.

Ham House, Buckminster, and the baronetcy went to [1] Wenefryde's cousin, Lyonel Tollemache, who married Hersilia Collingwood. In 1948 they decided to hand over Ham and most of its treasures to the nation. [2]

Perhaps at nightfall, when the sightseers have left, the ghosts of long-dead Tollemaches—some eccentric, some brilliant, and many handsome—once more take possession of the rooms, galleries, and gardens that they loved so much.

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[1] Lord Dysart's second sister, Lady Agatha Tollemache, married Richard, third Baron Westbury. Their only son, Richard Bethell, married Miss Eve Hutton and pre-deceased his father, who was succeeded by his grandson, the present and fourth Baron.

[2] There has recently been discovered at Ham House, one of the original copies long given up for lost, of the document containing the Articles of the abortive treaty of union between England and Scotland in 1604. This contains the signatures of Lord Chancellor Ellesmere and the Earls of Dorset, Nottingham, Southampton, Tonbridge and Northampton.

CHAPTER 18

Lady Jane Tollemache

LADY JANE TOLLEMACHE was born in 1750. Her mother died when she was five. On her sixth birthday her careful father made a note in his 'Book of Account' that he had actually gone to the extravagance of buying her a present: 'To a small enamel'd box sett in Pinchbeck for my daughter Jane, three shillings and sixpence'. Pinchbeck was a mixture of copper and zinc which looked like gold, a metal which must have truly appealed to the heart of the parsimonious and wealthy Earl. Like her sister, Louisa, she was educated at the fashionable school of Mrs Holt in London.

Later, we read of her delight at receiving a present of a jar of olives which her brother, William, had sent her from Cadiz. At the age of twenty she went out one evening from Ham House to dine with Horace Walpole, her sister-in-law's uncle. 'The week after I cam here we din'd at Mr. Walpole's; he had made his place vastly pretty, and built a gallery to his house.'

This year proved fateful for Lady Jane; her father died, after enjoying his Earldom and estates for forty-three years, and her eldest brother Lionel's succession entailed a considerable upheaval in the life of the family. He must already have shown signs of the miserly habits which obsessed him in after life.

Lady Jane followed her elder sister's example and eloped. She ran off with Captain John Halliday of Castlemaine, Kirkcudbrightshire, who himself was only twenty-one. Mrs Harris, mother of the first Earl of Malmesbury, mentions the elopement in a letter to her son. She wrote from Salisbury on 31 October 1770:

> 'Lady Jane Tollemache, daughter to Lord Dysart, is gone to Scotland with a Captain Halliday of the Light Horse; his father is a man of fortune. The Captain was just going to be married to Miss Byron. The clothes were bought, but he saw Lady Jane twice at the Richmond Assembly, was captivated, and wrote a letter to Miss Byron to inform her he had changed his mind and set out for Scotland.'

The family apparently had no news of the missing couple for a fortnight, when a letter arrived for Wilbraham Tollemache, Lady Jane's brother, written from Bath.

'Bath, November 9, 1770.

'Sir,

'It is with the utmost concern I reflect upon the uneasiness I have occasion'd in your Family by the very imprudent method I took to procure my future happiness. I cannot enough apologize for having omitted acquainting you sooner with the Liberty I have taken in marrying your Sister Lady Jane Tollemache,—an Honour I shall endeavour to merit thro' the whole tenor of my future conduct.

'My Father being at Bath made it necessary for us to wait on him here, but I propose staying a very short time as it is by no means a place proper for a Person in Lady Jane's Situation; nor can she enjoy any Comfort while under the Displeasure of her Relations.

'Lady Jane has received your Letter, and intends answering it very soon. At present, her extreme Affliction can better be *conceiv'd* than *express'd*: Words are much to weak to paint our mutual Feelings in this *Melancholy Situation*.

'My ev'ry Happiness is centred in *hers*, and the sole Object of my Wishes will be to render her perfectly so. And if by her constant Study to *deserve* Forgiveness she is fortunate enough to *obtain* it we shall then be supremely blest above every other Consideration.

'I am Sir,

'Your most obt. and most humble Servant

'J. Delap Halliday.'

Not a bad letter from a young man of twenty-one, and it achieved the desired result. But he still had Miss Byron's extremely irate father to deal with. He was Commodore John Byron, a serving officer in the Royal Navy, and a brother of the seventh Lord Byron, who had married a rich heiress from Jamaica. Wilbraham Tollemache and Lord Shelburne [1] helped him over this difficult situation.

A month later John writes another letter to Wilbraham, which might well serve as a model for all young men who are faced with the same predicament.

'Bath, 11th December, 1770.

'Sir,

'My Father has informed me of your kind Endeavour together with Lord Shelburne's towards reconciling and bringing to the most amicable issue everything between Commodore Byron's Family and myself. . . . I am very sorry to have occasion'd you or his Lordship the least Trouble, and cannot omit paying my Acknowledgements (due to both) for your obliging Interposition in this Affair.

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[1] Lord Shelburne had married Lady Sophia Carteret, half-sister of Lady Grace Carteret, who married the fourth Earl of Dysart. Lord Shelbourne was later created Marquess of Lansdowne.

'I confess I have not the least Sense of the *injury* so grievously complain'd of, but rather esteem it in a different light, for what could have been more *injurious* than to have enter'd into this most Solemn of all Contracts with *one* Lady whilst the *Other* has Sole Possession of my Heart?

'Whilst I continued to love Miss Byron my Behaviour was *Irreproachable*. Why then has it been less so because when that Love cess'd (which unaccountable Effect I can impute to Nothing but the Caprice of the human Heart), I had the *Resolution* to *Declare* it?

'Miss Byron has more than Once agreed with me (nay; I think all the world will coincide), that when the Heart shall be alienated from one Object to *Another* it would be both *ungenerous* and *inhuman* not to declare it.

'However,—I might have judg'd wrong; tho' (if I did) I must ever reflect on the clear Conscience of my own Intentions.

'I know there are People malicious and wicked enough to blacken any Character. Mine has not escaped Censure, and I doubt not that I also have many kind friends of that Die. But, as I never meant an Injury of that sort to Mr. Byron's Family or any Other, if I *have* err'd 'twill be my chief glory to confess my error. I am willing therefore to submit this Affair to any *Man of Honour* and of *more Experience* than myself.

'And as you and my Lord Shelburne are kind eno' to undertake this decision I very readily comply with your Arbitration and would willingly do everything consistent with the *Man of Honour*—from which Character no man would, or can wish to, depart.

'I am, Sir,

'Your most obt. and most Hble. Servant,

'J. Delap Halliday.'

John was as good-looking and charming as his letters show he was capable, while Lady Jane was as lovely as her pictures. Sir Joshua Reynolds painted a full-length portrait of her in 1779, which was engraved the same year by Valentine Green.[1] He represents her walking in the country in a high wind, with her hair and dress flowing about her. Her left arm is extended, her right hand holds up her gown, which is of white and amber, and she has a bandeau of pearls round her head. A magnificent portrait of a very beautiful woman, but it is difficult to account to the modern young generation as to the reason why their ancestress chose to walk about the country in the fullest and most sumptuous of evening dresses on such a windy day. The erudite and accomplished Field-Marshal Earl Wavell, on the other hand, has always named the picture 'Verity', as the female counterpart of a hundred and seventy years ago of the famous Yorkshire left-handed bowler.

The picture was sold to the first Earl of Iveagh for £16,000 a little over a hundred

[1] See illustration opposite page 134.

years later by Lady Jane's grandson, John Lord Tollemache, and the proceeds divided among his children.

Lady Jane and her husband were both to inherit great wealth. John's father was a rich man, but he also had a relative named Delap, after whom he was wisely called, who possessed a very valuable property in Antigua in the West Indies, to the whole of which he succeeded.

Lady Jane and her descendants were to succeed to the majority of the great Tollemache estates, the properties in Suffolk, Cheshire, and Northamptonshire.

But they married for love; when they ran off together, they were comparatively poor. John stayed on in the Army until he became a Major, and they bought a small place called The Leasowes in Worcestershire, near Halesowen, which had belonged to Shenstone, a poet. Shenstone's father had lived quietly on his little property, content to provide for his daily needs by the careful cultivation of his land, but the son, on his father's death, made so many extravagant and expensive alterations that he soon reduced himself to bankruptcy. Like so many poets, before and after, his verse must seemingly be golden. Under the circumstances John and Lady Jane must have bought it fairly cheaply.

Dr Johnson paid a visit to The Leasowes in 1774, and wrote: 'Shenstone began to point' his prospects, to diversify his surfaces, to entagle his walks, and to wind his waters; which he did with such judgement and such fancy as to make his little Domain the envy of the great and the admiration of the skilful; a place to be visited by travellers and copied by designers. The pleasure of Shenstone was all in his eye, he valued what he valued merely for its looks. Nothing raised his indignation more than to be asked if there were any fish in his waters. There were in one spot fourteen waterfalls in a very short line.

Lady Jane and her husband spent many happy years at The Leasowes with their family of four children, and we can imagine that they stocked the waters with fish, since John came from Scotland, and Lady Jane had been brought up at Helmingham, where the salmon river Deben ran through the estate.

But this happy existence was not to last. John died in 1794, at the early age of forty-five. He was buried at Halesowen, where Lady Jane and her children placed an elaborate monument to his memory, which was designed by Thomas Banks, the Royal Academician. The monument was so much admired at the time that a description of it was given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of July 1803. An extract is revealing as showing the memorial taste of those days:

'The lower part of the monument has the appearance of a tomb, to which the vestry door seems the entrance. . . . Upon this simulated tomb the figure of Major Halliday is extended, supported on one side by Benevolence in the act of clothing a naked orphan, and upon the other by a kneeling figure with a dog, representing Fidelity paying her devoirs at the tomb. The Major is dressed in that Cloathing which represents him as having put off Mortality, yet he sympathizes with and feels this attention which is paid to his Memory.'

LADY JANE HALLIDAY (1750 – 1802), SISTER OF THE EARL OF DYSART

From an original painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds, which was sold by John, Lord Tollemache, for £16,000

Underneath are the following lines:

His Mind was enlightened by Study,
His Heart was benevolent.
His Friendship was sincere.
And
His Generosity always afforded
Protection to the Unfortunate
And
Relief to the Needy.

With native Genius blest, and lib'ral Mind,
A Zeal for Learning, and a Taste refin'd:
Of manners mild, and a benignant Heart
That in each Friend's Affliction shared a Part.
For social Worth by all he liv'd approved,
And died regretted, honour'd, and belov'd.

What tho' no more, Alas, allow'd to rove
With learned Ease thro' Shenstone's classic Grove,
—Tho' spar'd no longer to protect that Ground
Which the Lov'd Poet's Genius hovers round:
Tho' thy fine form by a too early doom
Be left to moulder in this votive tomb,
—Tho' unfetter'd Spirit sooner wings her way
To higher Joys in Scenes of Endless Day.

Lady Jane survived her husband for eight years, and died in 1802, after a very short illness, at the age of fifty-two. She had four children, three sons and one daughter. The daughter, Charlotte Elizabeth, married in 1793 Henry Wolseley, the third son of Sir William Wolseley, of Wolseley in Staffordshire.

Her eldest son, John Richard Delap, born in 1772, succeeded under the will of his uncle, Wilbraham Tollemache, sixth Earl of Dysart, to the majority of the Tollemache estates, and re-assumed the family name of Tollemache. He also inherited a very large fortune from his father.

CHAPTER 19

Admiral John Tollemache and Lady Elizabeth Tollemache

LADY JANE'S eldest son, John Richard Delap, born in 1772, joined the Royal Navy, and was promoted Rear-Admiral in 1819 at the age of forty-seven. On the death of his uncle, Wilbraham Tollemache, sixth Earl of Dysart, John inherited the Tollemache properties in Cheshire, Northamptonshire, and Suffolk, and he and his family took the name of Tollemache. Helmingham was allotted to his aunt, Louisa, seventh Countess of Dysart, for her life.

John was a skilful and successful sailor. He was commanding H.M.S. *Repulse* of seventy-four guns off Toulon in 1810, when his look-out man reported a French squadron of eight ships of the line and four frigates looming out of the mist in close pursuit of the British brig *Philomel*. The rest of the British fleet were out of sight.

John crowded on sail and placed the *Repulse* between the *Philomel* and the enemy. His broadsides so raked the French van—the frigates *Pomone*, *Penelope*, and *Adrienne*—that they abandoned the chase.

Captain Guion of the *Philomel* ran up a signal: 'Well done *Repulse*. Repulsed enemy. Saved me nobly.' [1]

Captain Guion presented Captain Tollemache with an original drawing of this action, in which the two capes on the French coast, Cap Cesette and Cap Cess, are shown. This hangs in the drawing-room at Helmingham. John had certainly shown the family characteristics of impetuosity and lack of fear, but beyond the thanks of the *Philomel* he does not seem to have received any other reward.

The action has been commemorated in verse by his son, Augustus:

'Twas Autumn dawn off Toulon Port,
Thick mist obscured the light,
The look-out man aloft sang out
'The Enemy's in sight.'

[1] Captain Corbett, R.N., wrote to Augustus Tollemache, 'Your Father had faced a practically overwhelming force of French ships, in fact half the Toulon Division.'

In sight indeed, and hot pursuit
A British Brig to take,
The 'Philomel' was seen in flight,
The French fleet in her wake.

The Brig was straining every sail
As if to win a race,
There seemed but little chance for her,
They came at such a pace.

Like hawks advancing on their prey
The French advanced, and now
Their leading Frigate's well aimed shot
Came whistling o'er her bow.

But Tollemache, regarding not
Their number or their rig,
Bore up and placed his ship between
The French and flying Brig.

And from her broadside he pour'd forth
So well sustained a fire,
The foremost vessels in the chase
Made signal to retire.

The fight was short, the Brig was safe
In less than half an hour,
Saved by the gallant Tollemache
On board his Seventy-four.

Alone he faced the Toulon fleet,
No British ship in view,
But his sole reward for his daring feat
Was a cheer from the 'Philomel's' crew.

The Admiral possessed great muscular strength. During the Peace of Amiens he was at Calais, playing the pocketless game which the French call billiards. As he was making a stroke, a French bully nudged his arm. A repetition of the offence made it evident that it was no accident. He picked up the Frenchman and threw him out of the window, and then, warned by the landlord that this Frenchman was the leader of a gang of notorious cut-throats, he and his friends beat a hasty retreat to his ship.

Another anecdote may further illustrate his character. While at sea he was naturally out of the way of hearing about promotions in the ecclesiastical world. On returning home from a long cruise he met an old clerical friend walking down Pall Mall, and accosted him with nautical roughness in a loud voice: 'Is that you, Lloyd? Why, what on earth have you got against your stomach?' 'Hush,' was the reply, 'it is my apron; I'm a Bishop.' Lloyd, Bishop of Oxford, was Peel's close friend.

John stood for Parliament—of course unsuccessfully—as a Radical for a division of

Conservative Cheshire, where he owned 30,000 acres of land, and his family were to be Tory members for a total of sixty-five consecutive years.[1] He defended this vagary by saying that doubtless, in spite of Reform Bills, milkmaids would go on singing as they carried their pails (Cheshire and the Tollemache estate probably produce the best dairy land in England).

But his real reason was known to be the wish for the excitement of an election and the love of opposition to his squirearchial neighbours. In reality he was a Tory from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot.

One evening he and his wife were sitting, talking after dinner with his mother-in-law, Lady Aldborough, and his unmarried sister-in-law, Lady Emily Stratford, who must have been at least sixteen years old. Something he said or did made Lady Emily laugh, not with him, but at him. Such an exhibition of Irish humour was not to his taste. 'Emily,' he exclaimed, 'if you do that again I'll whip you!' Incensed by the threat, which she regarded as a mere piece of sailor's bravado, she deliberately repeated the affront. But he was not accustomed either to break his word or to brook disobedience. So the delinquent was at once laid across his knee and flogged like a schoolboy. Lady Aldborough remonstrated. But she was told that if she did not mind her own business she would be dealt with as her daughter had been; and, after the object-lesson which she had just received, even she thought it prudent to say no more.

Admiral Tollemache must have been able, even in those hectic days of naval fighting, to make fairly frequent visits home, since between the years of 1797 and 1822 he contrived to produce twelve children, of whom the first five were girls and three were boys.[2]

He had married Lady Elizabeth Stratford, daughter of the third Earl of Aldborough, whose father had built Stratford Place in 1775, and was the first to occupy Stratford House, now known as Derby House.[3]

'Augustus Tollemache, brother of John, Lord Tollemache, writes that his parents Admiral Tollemache (then Halliday) and Lady Elizabeth were married in the drawing room of Lady Aldborough's (then the Hon. Mrs. Stratford) House in Piccadilly, his Mother being then only 16 years old, and his two Grandmothers, Lady Jane and Mrs. Tollemache being present. Extract from Parish register of St. Georges, Hanover Square, states, "By Special License with the consent of her Father Hon. John Stratford, in his dwellinghouse in Piccadilly".'[4]

Lady Elizabeth's mother, the Countess of Aldborough, was notorious for her acid wit and caustic *bon mots*, and the Tollemaches must have had somewhat mixed feelings

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[1] There were only 5,000 registered electors when Admiral T. stood for the Cheshire Division in 1833.

[2] It is remarkable that Admiral Tollemache, with his strong Naval bias and tradition, did not place any of his sons in that service. When he introduced his youngest son (Augustus, my great-uncle) to William IV in 1836 on his appointment to the 2nd Life Guards, the King said, 'You ought to have put him in the Navy'.

[3] *Vide* illustration facing page 139.

[4] From General Sir Lewis Halliday's family book.

THE COUNTESS OF ALDBOROUGH (1776 – 1845)

From a portrait at Peckforton by Strobling

STRATFORD HOUSE, THE HOME OF THE COUNTESS OF ALDBOROUGH, GRANDMOTHER OF THE FIRST LORD TOLLEMACHE

when she decided to settle in Brighton to be near her son-in-law and daughter, who had bought No. 1 Arundel Terrace in the autumn of 1829.

At that time Brighton had lost most of its gaiety of Regency days. King George IV no longer came to his beloved Pavilion. He was a dying man in Windsor Castle. But on his death in the following year, the new sovereigns, King William IV and Queen Adelaide, came to Brighton with great pomp and ceremony and took up their residence there. Lady Aldborough's lurid reputation so shocked their Majesties that specific orders were given that she was not to be invited to any of the royal parties. Mrs Fitzherbert, perhaps a trifle biased, since she had rented Ormeley Lodge, a house on the family property near Ham, from Lady Bridget Tollemache, wrote on 1 October 1830:

> 'I am going to dine to-day at the Pavilion, and to-morrow with Lady Aldborough, who keeps open house and has very good parties, but is sadly mortified at having her company often taken from her to dine with Royalties, and never once being invited herself. I think it is very hard upon her, particularly as she has taken a house and furnished it with fine things from Paris, and means to make Brighton her home.'

Many stories of Lady Aldborough and her eccentricities are quoted in biographies of that period. Her first meeting with Arthur Wellesley, later to become Duke of Wellington, was in Dublin. She gave him a lift in her coach to a party which took place some miles from the town, but found him so extremely silent and dull that on the return trip she purposely left him behind. Young Wellesley waited about in vain, and when he realized that all the coaches and chariots were gone he drove back to Dublin in a cart with the band. Many years afterwards, when Lady Aldborough again met the Iron Duke, she said to him: 'I little thought when I left you to find your way back with the fiddlers that some day you were going to play the first fiddle in Europe yourself'.

Lady Aldborough lived much in Paris, and was a great friend of King Louis Philippe. A typical instance of her complete familiarity with the highest in the land is reported by Lord Stanhope in his *Conversations with the Duke of Wellington*:

'(1842, Oct. 10th): I repeated to the Duke a new *mot* of Lady Aldborough. I heard it from the Dowager Lady Sandwich, who is now on a two-day visit to us. She (that is Lady Aldborough) went to court at the Tuileries soon after the last attempt to shoot Louis Philippe, and when there was a rumour of his dropsy, which had just been contradicted on authority, she thus addressed him: "Sire, je vous félicite; je vois que vous avez été à l'épreuve du feu et de l'eau," giving him with these words a vigorous punch in the stomach to indicate where the peril of water had been feared. This, though not exactly in the style of Louis Quatorze, was from its novelty highly acceptable to his present representative, who has been talking of it ever since.' The King was delighted, but for all that her jest belongs to the class of things one would rather have left unsaid!

I don't think that even her great sense of humour could have stood the Duke's reply:

'He replied that she was an extraordinary old woman.' His aide-de-camp in France had more than once ventured on an April fool's prank—*un poisson d'avril*—with her. Of this he gave several instances. Her exact age is a problem. Once, some years ago, the Duchess-Countess of Sutherland was told of Babbage's machine which calculated even the most impossible things. 'Then,' she said, 'I wish he would calculate two things for me: first, Lady Aldborough's age, and secondly whether by any chance the Tories will ever come back to power.'

(Charles Babbage was elected Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge in 1828, and produced the first correct and well-arranged Tables of Logarithms, probably to the horror of most schoolboys, but he also invented the first calculating machine, which was the wonder of the period.)

Wellington, though he did not always approve of Lady Aldborough's eccentricities, was a very old friend of hers. Her daughter has told us with natural pride that, in acknowledgment of his regard for her mother, the Duke, when presented to her, kissed her hand.

But Lady Aldborough, though intimate with our great general, was still more so with our great admiral. The latter friendship she owed chiefly to her being the niece of the husband of Lady Hamilton, and 'she had often seen her celebrated Aunt Emma dance the famous shawl dance for the benefit of our great naval hero'.

She went to Paris for six years and stayed there for sixteen, and was certainly there during part of the 'Hundred days'. Her grandson, John Lord Tollemache, always said that in 1815 she was present at the service at the Sainte Chapelle, attended on one Sunday by Louis XVIII, and on the next by Napoleon. The Emperor sent one of his generals, who was a personal friend of hers, to assure her of the safety of the English in France, but she distrusted such assurance and took refuge in Switzerland until all fear of the tyranny was past.

A little girl once asked a former Lady Gifford, 'Do tell me, are you old or young? I can never make out.' And she answered, 'My dear, I have been a very long time young.' I have been told of the widow of a naval chaplain, who, having understated her age in her marriage register, was punished for her girlish weakness by being unable, after her husband's death, to obtain her full pension. But Lady Aldborough's policy of counterfeiting youth was much more mundane and deliberate. She had travelled on the Continent before the French Revolution, and we know that she was in Paris after Louis Philippe had become King. On her original passport she had written 'twenty-five' on the space allotted for her age. She refused throughout her long career of travelling to alter this statement. Accordingly, at the age of at least seventy, when she presented her passport to a French official, we cannot now be surprised that he looked at her with the gravest suspicion and exclaimed: 'Mais, Madame la Comtesse, il me semble que vous avez plus de vingt-cinq ans'. 'Monsieur,' she replied with the greatest dignity, 'vous êtes le premier Français qui ait jamais douté de ce qu'une dame a lui dit au sujet de son

âge.' 'Pardon, Madame la Comtesse, mille fois. Je me suis trompé tout-à-fait,' stammered the official and handed her back her passport.

It is pathetic to contrast Lady Aldborough in the heyday of her brilliant but somewhat arrogant prime with the Lady Aldborough as she appeared in her extreme old age. 'Dined with Lady Aldborough', writes Greville, 9 July 1843, 'and with Mrs. Murchison, wife of the geologist, at an hotel table d'hôte (at Baden-Baden), where Lady A's screaming and strange gestures alarmed me for the effect they would produce on the company, and lest she should come out with some of those extraordinary things she does not scruple to say to almost everybody she talks to. She is eighty-seven years old, still vigorous, and has all her wits about her, only her memory has gone, for she tells a story, and forgetting she has told it, begins it again almost directly after. A failing we may all become prone to in our old age.'

The Tollemache family possesses two lovely pictures of her, one by Romney, painted in 1780, and the other by Strobling,[1] painted in the perfection of her youthful beauty, lying on a sofa dressed in the scantiest of white draperies. Her grandson, John Lord Tollemache, was of a puritanical disposition and considered that the sight of Lady Aldborough's partially adorned form lying on a chaise-longue in a particularly alluring attitude might give his children a wrong conception of womanhood and of their great-grandmother in particular. He, therefore, cut the legs and most of the sofa out of the picture and burnt them in the hall fire at Helmingham. This still remains an entrancing portrait, and fortunately it was engraved before this Victorian atrocity took place.

Lady Aldborough owed her position and popularity not so much to her beauty as to her wit and kindness of heart. Haywood classes Lady Aldborough with Sidney Smith as one of the chief wits of her time. Her dress was unusual, for whilst most old ladies dressed in silk and velvet she usually wore white muslin, fastened at the throat by a jewel, and ruffles round her wrists.

Perhaps I have over-enlarged on the story of this remarkable woman, but, if it is true much of our characters are built up by our ancestors, I have the solution to certain eccentricities on the part of her descendants.

The family was to become still closer related to Lady Aldborough when John Lord Tollemache married her granddaughter.

The London home of Admiral Tollemache was the block in Piccadilly next door to Apsley House, later to be divided into two houses. Apsley House, the home of the Duke of Wellington, was known in those days as No. 1 London. In 1834 the Admiral and Duke became involved in a lawsuit as to the responsibility for the loss of various articles through a burglary at Apsley House. The affair started with the painting of the Tollemache House.

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[1] See illustration facing page 138.

'Piccadilly,
'Monday.
'Oct. 27, 1834.

'Dear Duke of Wellington,

'I am painting my house and the Workmen cannot finish some Window Frames without being allowed to place a Ladder in your Grace's Stable Yard, which I shall be obliged by having acceded to

'I am Your Grace's faithful
'Humble Servant,
'J. R. D. Tollemache.

'To His Grace the Duke of Wellington.'

The Duke replied personally the next day granting the required permission, and by the same messenger sent a letter to his housekeeper at Apsley House, giving her the most detailed instructions.

'Walmer Castle.
'October 28, 1834.

'Mrs. Cross,

'I send you a letter from Admiral Tollemache. It will be necessary that all the Doors and Windows leading to my Stable Yard should be shut and secured, while this proposed Ladder shall be there. That my Porter should see the Stable Yard opened and shut up every morning and night before the Work commences and when it finishess That meannes should be taken to prevent all access to the Ladder at night, and that he should take Care to see that everybody goes out of the Yard when the Day's Work is over.

'I write to the Admiral to tell him that I have no objection to the Ladder being placed in the Yard if the necessary Precautions are taken.

'Yours Sy
'W. W.'

It happened that a burglar did make use of the ladder and stole some articles of the Duke's, and a very long and well-known lawsuit followed as to upon whom the loss should fall.

Admiral Tollemache died in 1837 and was buried at Helmingham. He was succeeded by my grandfather, his eldest son, John.

Lady Elizabeth survived her husband for many years, dying at their house at Brighton in May 1861. There are memorials to her in Nutfield Church, Surrey, placed by her youngest son, William Augustus. The fine stained-glass window was unfortunately completely shattered by a flying bomb on 17 June 1944. There are also three brasses; two to Lady Elizabeth, of which one is cut in the shape of the Tollemache arms; and the third placed by his wife Marguerite to the memory of her mother, Ellen Viscountess Canterbury.

CHAPTER 20

Wilbraham, Augustus and Georgina, Children of Admiral John and Lady Elizabeth

FOX-HUNTING was the life blood of the second son, Captain Wilbraham Tollemache—a superb horseman.

'The most impossible fence I ever saw was jumped by Wilbraham Tollemache', said Mr William Gilmour, speaking with the authority of more than fifty consecutive seasons at Melton Mowbray. 'Stirling Crawford and I went there more than once to look at the place and could not have believed that any horse would have jumped it unless we had seen it with our own eyes.'

Egerton Warburton called Wilbraham Tollemache 'Dorfold's invincible squire' and summed up his fox-hunting qualities in verse:

> Few sportsmen so gallant, if any
> Did Woore ever send to the chase
> Each Dingle for him has a cranny,
> Each river a fordible place,
> He knows the best line for each covert,
> He knows where to stand for a start,
> And long may he live to ride over
> The country he loves in his heart.

Wilbraham married a wife whose fortune gave him full scope for his favourite sport —Anne Tomkinson, heir to Dorfold Hall in Cheshire, an estate which all but marched with that of Peckforton.

Well loved by his tenants, he died at the age of eighty-three (1890)—a good squire and a famous fox-hunter.

Henry, the son and heir, inherited his father's longevity and love of hunting. He played cricket for Oxford University, and after a short spell in the Coldstream Guards, divided the years 1885–1906 between his estate and the Tory back benches of the House of Commons.

He died at the age of ninety-two—the oldest magistrate in Britain.

Dorfold Hall passed to the descendants of his sister Julia, who had married Charles Roundell.

Born two years after the battle of Waterloo, William Augustus, the third and youngest son, died two years before the outbreak of the First World War.

He lived through the reigns of six sovereigns. As a Westminster boy he saw William IV crowned, and as an officer of the Second Life Guards he was present at the midnight burial of that monarch. He lined the streets with his regiment for Victoria's coronation, and was a spectator at her funeral.

'I am considered by my friends and contemporaries a youthful old man,' he wrote in 1904, when eighty-seven years old, 'as I still hear and see and walk.

'Of my age there can be no doubt. I was born in November, 1817. The date is forever fixed in history as the Princess Charlotte'—the beautiful and popular daughter of the Prince Regent, in the direct line of succession to the throne—'died (with her baby) in the same month and my mother was attended by her doctor, Sir Richard Croft, and the same nurse.

'Soon after, in January 1818, Croft—unable any longer to bear the odium attached to his name—put an end to his life.

'I was sent when very young to a large French school at the south end of Sloane Square—Durham House, Monsieur Grenet's. We were obliged always to speak French though I don't think there were any French boys. The masters were all French and so I acquired a good accent.

'In 1830, I went to Westminster School. I am myself a link with the past. I was present at the coronation of William IV—not by invitation but by right as a Westminster boy.

'I remember illuminating with tallow dips our windows at the back of Dean's Yard in honour of the first Reform Bill.

'I was only two years at Westminster so was a fag the whole time I was there. I had a rough, disagreeable (fag) master—Vance, the son of a surgeon. I was exactly like his servant out of school hours and had to clean his boots, brush his clothes, fill his jug from the pump in Dean's Yard and prepare his evening tuck.

'Among things long past I may mention that the junior boys during the summer months at Westminster were under the rule of the Captain of the Boats. I was obliged to serve in the crew of a heavy eight oar called the Victory. I thought it a great infliction at the time, but it led to my fondness for the water which became a great resource to me when quartered at Windsor. I introduced the first outrigger wherry to the regiment and kept my boats, of which I had two, at Cheyney Walk, Chelsea.

'I had joined the Second Life Guards in 1836. We were quartered at Windsor which then had no communications by rail with London.

'Coach and post chaise were the only means of reaching the metropolis on wheels, but I did on one occasion use another means in company with George Howard Vyse. We were both passionately fond of the Italian opera and on the night of our ride to London and back to Windsor, "Norma" was given at His Majesty's Theatre.

'It was a lovely summer evening when my comrade and I, having got leave for the night, rode up to Du Bourgh's coffee house in the Haymarket. There we put up our horses, dined and changed our dress and walked to our stalls at the opera in time to hear the overture and the delicious notes of Grisi's "Casta Diva". How beautiful she was in those early days! Her impersonation of Norma was inspired, her arms beautiful and what a voice. The clearest and freshest soprano and her acting splendid throughout.

'My companion and I had a most delightful evening and a pleasant ride back to Windsor, reaching barracks in the small hours of the morning. Not a soul awake but the sentry, but one found in the mess room a dim oil lamp wherewith to light one's candle and soda water in case of thirst.'

Augustus's picture, painted in uniform, shows him as a handsome young man—a face alert, whimsical, and sensitive, a short nose and wavy hair. To pass the time on guard, he drew his brother officers. Eighteen of these he formed into a panel of a screen—now in my possession—and at the back he wrote their names. These are worth quoting, as the *Army List* today will show nearly the self-same names as their descendants pass through their service in the Household Cavalry:

R. Lucas	Derwent	R. Naylor
Abergavenny	H. Langley	H. Boyce
De Montalt	T. Ogilvie	Rob. Lawley
Brownland Bertie	Evans Freke	Rob. Blaine
G. Howard Vyse	Queensberry	Ed. Wingfield
Rob Hesketh	H. Savile	A. Hawksley.

Many years later he added under the list of their names this rather pathetic little verse:

How few remaining friends I care to see
The comrades I once knew
Whose likenesses I drew
Are more congenial company for me.

Augustus was a devoted son and brother, and the many delightful little intimate sketches that he did of his sisters—and especially the youngest Georgina—testify to his art and their charms.

Augustus was introduced to Napoleon I's brother Lucien by his daughter Lady Dudley Stuart at her house in Wilton Place about 1840.

Some twelve years later he saw another Bonaparte brother, 'le Roi Jerome', as he was called, at the accession of Napoleon III. Augustus had exchanged his military for a diplomatic career in 1849, and was 'attached to Lord Cowper's Embassy in Paris' when President Bonaparte overthrew the Second Republic and assumed the Imperial title.

'We went', he writes, 'in a State carriage to recognise the new Emperor. There had been great difficulties about the new title of "Napoleon the Third", for it involved the

tardy recognition by England of "Napoleon the First", whose reign as Emperor we had ignored, and of "Napoleon the Second", who had never reigned at all. "Louis Napoleon the First" had been urged in vain as a more convenient title by our Government.'

Soon after his return from Rio in 1855, Augustus was offered a staff appointment in the Foreign Legion, then being organized for service in the Crimea. 'Happily,' says his sister Georgina, in a memoir written in the form of a letter to Augustus, 'peace was proclaimed; and that you might not be entirely without official work, William'—her husband, Lord Mount Temple—'made you his private secretary, but Lord Palmerston soon after gave you the appointment of Treasurer of County Courts, and instead of joining a foreign mission or going to the Crimea, you were able to settle quietly in Surrey, at that dear Nutfield which was for many years as the Land of Goschen to us and to many of our family.'

Augustus married Marguerite Home Purvis—a perfect companion, beautiful, intellectual and artistic, and a mystic. Their homes—34, Berkeley Square, Nutfield, and their house in Paris—reproduced one another in their taste and simplicity. Though much in the world, nothing deterred them from pursuing their own lives. Her favourite haunt was the library of the British Museum, from which, after their visits to Spain, she wrote books on Spanish mystics, towns, and pictures.

When they became poorer, their home in Berkeley Square was changed for a tiny house in Cheyne Walk which Philip Webb transformed for them—and Nutfield for the Glen at Babbacombe, the thatched cottage on the beach below his sister Georgina's house which he left to me.

There their last happy years were spent. Marguerite, who was born the same year as Augustus, was the first to go—in 1896. She was buried at Risby in Suffolk, where she had inherited a small property. After her funeral, he settled in a cottage adjoining the churchyard and never faced returning to his home.

A few years later his beloved sister Georgina died—so the two women who had been his life went before him, and he wrote the following verse on himself: 'The last of his generation':

Brothers, sisters, all are gone,
Not one link with the past,
They all have left him one by one
The One most loved, the last.

He plods along with weary knees,
In cold and dreary weather;
He and the old and leafless trees
Have sympathy together.

Sunshine or shade, which e'er it be,
No change of clime he brooks:
Like the last leaf on a winter tree
Oh; how forlorn it looks.

Yet his mind still remained as keen as ever, his memory as clear, and his wit as pungent. Wrinkling up his short nose he would bring up some unexpected quick retort —some truth that no one else had dared to say. Looking back, he would tell of a Victorian marriage arranged for a favourite niece—where 'everyone was pleased—except the bride'.

The younger generation vied with each other to visit him and please him—he would drive over to Helmingham for long visits. He had been a spectator at Edward VII's funeral, and was staying at Helmingham when Queen Mary, then Princess of Wales, visited it.

He was never ill—he never had been—and suddenly one winter evening at Risby, he rose to his full impressive height and said, 'The time of my departure is at hand' and died.

His sister Georgina—unwittingly—at the age of nineteen made a conquest of Ruskin on her first visit to Rome.

'The fact was'—he writes in *Praeterita* of his apparent zeal for ecclesiastical ceremonies —'that at services of this kind there was always a chance of seeing at intervals, above the bowed heads of the Italian crowd—for an instant or two before she stooped, a fair English girl, who was not only the admitted queen of beauty in the English circle of that winter in Rome, but was so in the kind of beauty which I had hitherto only dreamed of as possible, but never yet seen living; statuesque severity with womanly sweetness joined. I don't think I ever succeeded in getting nearer than within 50 yards of her: but she was the light and solace of all the Roman winter to me, in the mere chance of glimpses of her far away, and the hope of them.

'Meantime my Father . . . enjoyed everything that Rome had to show; the musical Festas especially, whenever his cross-grained boy consented, for Miss Tollemache's secret sake, to go with him.'

Georgina married in 1848 (aged twenty-eight) the Honourable William Cowper. His mother, Emily, was the sister of the Prime Minister, Lord Melbourne, the wife of Lord Cowper, the mistress of Lord Palmerston, and the daughter of that Lady Melbourne of whom Byron spoke as 'the cleverest and most charming woman' he knew and 'his best friend'. Emily married Lord Palmerston shortly after her husband's death (1837).

Georgina writes to her brother: 'You will recall the little family breakfast in Chesham Place and our dear Mother's beautiful, peaceful face, and the perfect trust with which she confided me to William. How worthy he was of that trust you well know. During the forty years of our happy companionship, he never varied in love and kindness to me, cherishing me indeed in comparative poverty' (when their income sank to £5,000 a year) 'and wealth, in sickness and health—through many weaknesses and infirmities—in sorrow and joy through the long years that now seem so short and whose harvest I trust is gathered into the higher life in which I hope soon to join him.'

From her own quiet home she was by her marriage at once caught up in the brilliant political society of that day.

'We went that Christmass to Broadlands. Lord Palmerston was then Foreign Secretary and had often staying with him ambassadors and members of the Corps Diplomatique, as well as his own political friends. Lady Palmerston was the most charming hostess and he always genial and agreeable. He was generally hard at work all day, but he was as bright and fresh and ready to amuse and be amused as if he had not the burden of Europe upon him with all its varying and anxious complications.

'He made Broadlands a home to all Lady Palmerston's family. There was the great philanthropist (Lord Shaftesbury) as I remember him at this time, with stern, harrassed face, belying all the fun, ready to break out whenever anybody amused him and all the love and pity which filled the tenderest of hearts. He was very kind to me and I almost worshipped this noble, self-sacrificing character. His sunny, brilliant wife was with him —William's eldest sister and generally a bevy of pretty children. William's only other sister—Lady Jocelyn was also there—she was first maid of honour then lady in waiting to our Queen and was much known in the world for her goodness, her beauty and her sorrows.

'They all showed me the greatest kindness but I felt out of my element in a world so new to me and was dazzled by their gaiety and brilliance. I can laugh at it now, as well as cry, remembering how as the relentless years brought storm after storm on those dear heads, they let me come very near to them and feel their sorrows as my own.'

After Napoleon III's *coup d'état*, Palmerston was asked by Lord John Russell to resign, and gave up the keys of office. He and Lady Palmerston seized the opportunity of visiting his Irish estates and took William and Georgina with them.

'We slept two nights in Sligo,' writes Georgina in her diary, 'where Lord P had property. The people crowded around him, one man made a run at him: "And is it Lord Palmerston!" "Yes." "Thank you, that's all!" But a man more bold and eloquent came forward to explain the conduct of his friend. "Och! Your Lordship, the truth is the poor boy is in such a state of ecstasy at seeing your Lordship, he hardly knows what he's saying! We're a poor people, but we're a loyal people and it's attached we are to the British Empire and yer honour's family, and it's proud we are to see you in the Far West." He got petitions at every turn, some from "abandoned orphans" of 50 and some from "dissolute widows" and one was signed by the name of a dead person: "Will yer honour give me a coffin to bury me?"

'The drive from Sligo to Cliffony takes about two hours. It was very amusing and very affecting. I half laughed, half cried all the way. As soon as we got into Lord P's "dominions" the "tinantry" swarmed out of the cabins to meet him. They had made triumphal arches of boughs along the road, twisted elegantly with wisps of red flannel and old garments of all kinds! They gathered around the carriage all trying to touch the hand of their Landlord, swinging their arms and crying "Welcome to Ireland, we are

AUGUSTUS TOLLEMACHE (2ND LIFE GUARDS), YOUNGER BROTHER OF JOHN LORD TOLLEMACHE. BORN 1813, TWO YEARS BEFORE THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO. DIED 1911, THREE YEARS BEFORE WORLD WAR I

GEORGINA TOLLEMACHE (LADY MOUNT TEMPLE), BORN 1820.
SISTER OF JOHN LORD TOLLEMACHE

glad to see ye in the Far West", the children out in shoals, very pretty and nearly naked, the poor people so ragged one wondered how they could get into their clothes, or keep them on!

'There was a grand illumination in the evening of dips in all the windows—we were glad to find ourselves in the clean, neat white-washed little Inn at Cliffony. Each evening "her honour's own musicianer" arrives with the fiddle, and the poor people dance jigs all down the passage. There is something very delightful in the mixture of familiarity and worship in the people.'

Lord Palmerston had reclaimed a great deal of the 'perfect desert of moving sand', planting it with *Pinus Maritima*, as Napoleon did in the Landes country.

'Lord Palmerston is the best of landlords,' she writes. 'He has spent on the Estate all he gets from it. He has eight schools, an agriculturist to improve the ground and plant, and teach the people how to sow their seed and keep their gardens. He has a covered boat and a skipper from Cornwall to show them how to fish. This did not succeed. The Irish will not take to the water and boat and skipper disappeared. He is on very good terms with the priest and gave him a glebe.'

'We returned by Galway and Dublin to England. The Duke of Wellington died in the month of September this year at Walmer. We went to the great funeral at St. Paul's in November. It was very grand and solemn, the crowds that gathered in the streets along the line of procession were in number estimated to be a million and a half; they were so orderly that a few policemen were sufficient to preserve peace.

'Early in 1853 the clouds began to gather that burst later in the terrible Crimean War. We heard with horror of the extreme suffering of our troops. Then it was that a friend of my youth, Lady Maria Forester, took the initiative and proposed to go out with other women to nurse the soldiers. She went straight to Miss Nightingale and found her eager to go.

'William was now at the Admiralty and he thought—"Why may not our sailors be cared for also" and another devoted little band went out to our sailors at Therapia under the leadership of the excellent Mrs. Mackenzie, daughter of Dr. Chalmers—a moving spirit in the disestablishment of the Scottish Established Church.'

William and Georgina were busy all their lives with philanthropic work. Her eldest brother John, Lord Tollemache, could never quite understand them, and considered the couple as romantic and sadly lacking in common sense. He once said of William Cowper: 'I can't make him out. He talks in such a way about religion and yet, would you believe it, he goes into the same lobby as the infidels in the House of Commons to vote for opening the British Museum and the Picture Galleries on Sunday.'

'William enabled me,' wrote Georgina, 'with Lady Ebury and others, to start the Ladies' Sanitary Society (one of the first of Health Centres). One of our plans for

improving the health of the children was to send them with hoops and skipping ropes twicé a week into the Parks to get good air and exercise. William carried on the fight for the preservation of the Commons and open spaces for the people. He was First Commissioner of Works for six years, and under his care the Parks were for the first time filled with flowers.

'Early and late the First Commissioner might be seen in the parks directing the design of each bed, and choosing the flowers that were to fill it.

'William also earned the gratitude of the equestrians by providing soft ground (Rotten Row) for their horses in Hyde Park and St. James'. I remember a meeting of the Roughs held in Hyde Park to protest that it was only for the use of the aristocracy. William went to the meeting and after much noisy talk and strong language, introduced himself—and turning to a costermonger who was 'specially excited said, "As to my friend there, if he will join me on his donkey, I shall be glad of his company and he will find what a fine thing for health a morning ride is".'

While he was in office the Thames Embankment and the Law Courts were built. At that time some rooms in St James' had to be done up, and William persuaded William Morris, to Georgina's delight, to undertake the work. She writes to her brother Augustus: 'You remember when we furnished our little home in Curzon Street, nothing would please me but watered paper on the walls, glazed chintzes with bunches of roses—so natural they looked I thought—as if they had just been gathered (between you and me I still think it was very pretty). One day Mr. Rossetti was dining alone with us and instead of admiring my room and decorations as I expected, he could hardly sit at ease with them. I began then to ask him if it were possible to introduce improvements. "Well," he said frankly, "I should begin by burning everything you have got". I think I may be pleased with our humility that when our staircase needed renovation, we asked his firm to do it up for us.

'Now our taste was attacked on the other side! but I think nearly all people confess that they owe a deep debt to the Morris & Co. firm for having saved them from trampling roses underfoot and sitting on shepherdesses, etc.

'During the years of Lord Palmerston's supremacy, Cambridge House was in a measure a centre of European interest. There they gathered at the famous Saturday evening parties. They themselves (a most rare thing) enjoying their own parties as much as anybody there. Sometimes when the last guest was gone we used to laugh in the family, for Lord and Lady Palmerston were as pleased as if it had been their first party and he would say "Well my love, how well you have managed it to-night". She would respond: "Yes, really, we never had a nicer party, you seemed to please everyone". Lady Palmerston knew exactly whom she had invited but always 3 or 4 uninvited guests were there, yet not a shade of manner on her part betrayed her knowledge of the fact and she would say: "If it amuses them to come they are quite welcome".'

Georgina tells in her diary of Brocket in the August of 1865. 'Edith and Sudely were

there. I remember thinking it so touching when Lord Palmerston saw the young pair walking together and William with me, he drew Lady Palmerston's arm within his and said: "Here we are, three pairs of lovers".

Two months after, Lord Palmerston died. He was himself, and often drolly so, to the end. 'How would you like the Medicine, in a glass or in a spoon, my Lord?' said the doctor, 'Or not at all,' he answered quickly. The day before he died the Queen sent to enquire after him. When told of this, he observed quite collectedly. 'It is very kind of Her Majesty. I am much better.' 'It was such a comfort to us,' said Georgina, 'to hear him say this, as it proved he was not in pain.'

Lady Palmerston died four years later. By his will, Lord Palmerston left William his estates in England and Ireland after Lady Palmerston's death. William felt that if they had no heir, he would be carrying out Lord Palmerston's wishes in leaving Broadlands to Evelyn Ashley—Lord Shaftesbury's second son—to whom he also gave our Sligo property.

'Lord Palmerston was always most thoughtful and kind to us; and at one time rather anxious about me, talking seriously to William several times of his fear that I was just the sort of person that the Roman Catholics would get hold of. How I hope I shall be able to thank him and meet his approval in another world.'

The last eighteen years of their life together were spent at Broadlands. William set himself to improve farms and build cottages. He was on the happiest terms with his tenants. He rode about visiting them, and found it absorbingly interesting. In the fishing season it was always the Mecca for members of the family with the river Test flowing by the front lawn.

Many and varied were the friends whom they unfailingly welcomed there. 'Mr. Carlyle', Georgina writes, 'looks much older than when I last saw him, as if his big soul could not be imprisoned much longer in the worn, weird form. He gave us a long and indignant Jeremiad on the sins and shams of this bare time; all going to squash as far as it can and we crying Hurrah over it.'

They found Mr Ruskin 'as always most delightful and instructive company: his talk full and brilliant, and his kindness unceasing to all in the house, giving a halo to life'. He set them all to manual work. He himself undertook to clean the garden fountain, and he set his host and hostess and all the guests to pick up fallen wood and make it into bundles of faggots for the poor.

'Quite unknown to myself', she writes, 'he had noticed me when we were in Rome together in 1840. I was then 18. It was rather humiliating to me that when we met again after about ten years he did not recognise me.' Theirs was a lifelong friendship. He wrote to Georgina as 'Isola bella'. Rose la Touche was another lovely Broadlands visitor and a strong link with Ruskin.

Rossetti painted at Broadlands his picture of 'The Blessed Damozel' and the portrait of Georgina Cowper. His picture of the Beata Beatrice she afterwards gave to the

National Gallery. The last picture of her was painted by Mr Watts—her beauty did not wane with age.

During these years William Cowper-Temple was instrumental in preserving Epping Forest for the people.

The famous Cowper-Temple clause was passed in Parliament. The Church party were struggling to maintain Catechism and Prayer Book in public elementary schools against the attacks of the Nonconformists—and of the Secularists, who wanted to banish religious teaching altogether.

William Cowper-Temple had the inspiration to exclude all formularies from those schools—a compromise which brought on him the odium of the Church party, but split the Nonconformist–Secularist alliance and preserved the reading of the Bible.

Every year, William and Georgina spend six weeks in their Irish home. On 'a great Rock standing out among the sandhills, some hundred yards above the sea, exposed to all the winds of heaven' they built themselves a substantial little stone-towered home with Mr Carrol as their architect. They called it 'Classie bawn'—the White Rock. They were almost too overwhelmed by the attentions of their 'tinants'. 'If we put our noses out of doors they all swarmed on us like bees. When we drove in the jaunting car they held on and swept with us along the roads; and if we went for a solitary walk, they would stalk us from the hill and mark a point at which they could surprise us! How we laughed over their funny compliments. They said I was "the finest lady that danced before the Queen" (as if I was a Nautch girl) and my smile was "sweeter than all the sweetmeats of Sligo" and for fear his honour should be jealous "sure you're a beautiful lady and his honour too". Though I loved the people I felt I could never really help them much. I never wanted to proselytise them, believing they had all they needed to make them good Christians. When we twice made lending libraries for them (with the priest's censorship) the books were all burned. When I provided armchairs for the old and sick I found the next year they had made firewood of them, thinking as the invalids had died, my chairs had brought them bad luck.'

They now made another little holiday home looking over the sea on the summit of Babbacombe Glen—in those days a bank of rocks and trees forming a wild and lovely glade. Nesfield was their architect, and the 'Cliff' became a source of rest and happiness.

In 1880 William Cowper-Temple was raised to the peerage. They spent several winters in Italy. One was spent at Bordighera with the inimitable writer of fairy tales—George Macdonald. She describes their journey home and Palm Sunday spent at Milan, where they 'had the pleasure of walking in the procession round the cathedral with palms in our hands like the blessed in the Apocalypse'.

Owing to financial losses they sold their London home in Stanhope Gate. 'William thought he would prefer not to have an inferior house in Mayfair; and as I had from old Rossetti days a romance for the Embankment, we took Shelley House and enjoyed the River views.'

Broadlands, which they had made so happy a home for their families and friends, had a further meaning expressed in the yearly conferences held there, when men of all shades of religious thought and opinion met in the Orangery and under the broad cedars to discuss together their common beliefs. The last of these was held in September 1889.

In October of that year Lord Mount Temple died, and the Peerage became extinct.[1]

Georgina used to say, 'I wish we could live a thousand years together here', and he would laugh at her and answer, 'You are much too contented. It will be much better farther on. Death is nothing but a change of clothes. I shall soon leave Broadlands, and a very good thing too. It will be better for the place, better for my successor and how much better for me.'

Georgina spent the last years of her life at Babbacombe, the friend and benefactor of the fishermen of the tiny harbour, for whom she and her brother Augustus, who lived in his thatched cottage below, built the stone pier to protect the fishing-boats. I remember her well, sitting in her room with its wide view, looking out to sea for her beloved fishermen and those sea-birds against whose slaughter she had worked so valiantly—a white veil over her silvery hair, as lovely as ever.

There is a charming statue of her on the cliff at Babbacombe, and in Romsey Abbey there are three windows—one dedicated to Lord Palmerston, one to Lord Mount Temple, and one to his wife 'Georgina Tollemache'. No one ever loved more or was more loved by one and all.

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[1] Evelyn Ashley's son Wilfred, to whose father Lord Mount Temple had left Broadlands and his Irish estates, was created a peer in 1932 and took the name of Mount Temple.

CHAPTER 21

Other Daughters of Admiral John and Lady Elizabeth

ELIZABETH, the eldest of John Tollemache's nine daughters, married the seventh Earl of Cardigan, later immortalized as the leader of the charge of the Light Brigade. One of the most eligible bachelors of the day, he had been in love with her for many years. His pictures show him as being exceedingly good looking, fair and tall, and with a fine figure. To add to his personal attractions he was reputed to be enormously rich, and was the owner of the magnificent Deene Park and large estates in Northamptonshire.

For twenty years Elizabeth entertained with almost regal splendour a brilliant circle of friends at Deene, their house in Portman Square, and at Cowes, where they kept a large yacht. Then they separated. Both were much sought after by members of the opposite sex, and both undoubtedly wandered from the recognized paths of marital virtue.

Lady Cardigan's affair with Lord Colville apparently proved the final blow. If they had had children their lives might have been very different. He accused her of having an 'ungovernable temper', but he could not have accused her of a lack of humour, as the following story will show, which tale might almost have been attributed to her grandmother, Lady Aldborough, and to one of the 'April fool's pranks', which the Duke of Wellington has described.

A certain Mrs Browne, well known in Society, had fallen desperately in love with Lord Cardigan, and although she did not know him personally sent him quantities of love-letters begging for an interview. Lady Cardigan was accidentally given one of these *billets doux*, and she made up her mind to play a trick on the enamoured lady. Their agent at that time was a very good-looking Mr Baldwin, and Lady Cardigan persuaded him to personate her husband and keep a bogus appointment she had made with Mrs Browne. Any compunctions he may have had were quickly overcome when a picture of Mrs B. showed her to be a lady of great charm to the opposite sex.

The unsuspecting lady received a note purporting to come from Lord Cardigan, saying that he would visit her on a certain evening. He further stipulated that as he was so well known he did not wish any of Mrs Browne's servants to see him, and that she was to receive him in the dark. Among the men of the period there were many eccentrics who possessed their own ideas of the art of love-making. She had probably at least

heard of Lord Ward, whose particular idiosyncrasy was to spend fabulous sums of money on jewellery with which to adorn his wife's unclothed body, and who insisted on keeping a hat on in his bath. The infatuated lady did not question the genuineness of the letter, and when Mr Baldwin arrived, he was duly received in darkness as black as Hades. The night passed to the mutual satisfaction and delight of both, and under cover of the darkness of the small hours of a winter's morning they said a fond good-bye.

History does not tell us when or how Mrs B. discovered the deception, but Lady Cardigan was only human, and revenge cannot be so sweet if kept a secret.

Elizabeth lived for another twelve years after the separation, and died in 1858 after a long illness. Cardigan was with her at the end when she urged him to marry the beautiful Miss de Horsey, his affair with whom had been notorious for some time. He was not long in taking her advice, as he was knocking at the front door of Miss de Horsey's house in Norfolk Street, Park Lane, before seven o'clock in the morning. 'I had just time to slip on a dressing-gown', she tells us, 'before he came into my room, sans ceremonie, and taking me in his arms he said, "My dearest, she's dead . . . let's get married at once".'

Cardigan was no more fortunate with Miss de Horsey in producing an heir than he had been with Elizabeth Tollemache, and he died ten years later. He left his estates, which were heavily mortgaged to the extent of many hundreds of thousands of pounds, to his second wife for life, but the Earldom went to the son of the second Lady Cardigan's particular *bête noir*—Elizabeth's cousin, Maria Tollemache, Marchioness of Ailesbury.

Emily, the second daughter of John Tollemache, eloped in the best Tollemache tradition with Ensign Tyrwhit Jones of the Brigade of Guards from her parents' house at Brighton—a town which had a somewhat unsettling effect on the family.

For after the orderly wedding of Jane to Mr Finch of Burley-on-the-Hill and of Marcia to Mr Vernon Harcourt of Nuneham in Oxfordshire, Selina added another elopement to the family's score.

Selina's brother Augustus has given a delightful description of her: 'She had a tall, graceful figure, golden-brown curling hair, then worn in ringlets, large radiant eyes with long lashes and rather sad eyebrows, a small straight nose, very short upper lip showing beautiful teeth, and a long chin. She certainly was very pretty and she thoroughly enjoyed the admiration she excited.'

Captain William Locke, late of the Life Guards, had first met Selina when she was fifteen and still not out of the schoolroom. They were both very attracted by each other, but marriage was out of the question; she was so young and he was hopelessly in debt, and had to fly the country to escape from his most pressing creditors. Two years later, in 1829, he returned with his debts paid, again met his Selina and fell madly in love. His proposal of marriage was abruptly refused by her parents, which was hardly surprising, as William, though he possessed every physical attraction in looks, wit, and manner,

was well known to be hopelessly extravagant, always in debt, and to have had many previous affairs of the heart.

At that time Admiral and Lady Elizabeth Tollemache had taken a house at Brighton, No. 1, Arundel Terrace, and her brother, Augustus, has left an account of the elopement:

'The family had gone to Brighton for the winter. On Sunday, the 6th of December, all went to church except Selina, who said she was not feeling well and stayed at home. About mid-day a yellow post-chaise drove up and stopped opposite Arundel Terrace. The cliff was very quiet, all the Kemp Town world was at Mr. James Anderson's church. Before long a young girl stepped quietly out of the house at the corner and got into the mysterious yellow post-chaise. This was Selina, recovered from her indisposition, and William Locke was there to receive her. He came no doubt by appointment, but whether she intended an immediate flight from her home is somewhat uncertain. She had made no preparations whatever for the journey, and it may have been a sudden decision quite consistent with her impulsive nature. There was no time for thought, much less for discussion, as at any moment some member of the family might be returning from church, so scribbling a hasty line asking for forgiveness and that some clothes might be sent after her, they drove off; just as the churches were disgorging their congregations the yellow post-chaise—with drawn blinds—dashed through the street of Brighton and made a rapid journey to London.'

Lord George Lennox, who had married a daughter of Lady Rodney—Lady Elizabeth Tollemache's youngest sister—was lunching at the house, and was at once deputed to pursue his cousin to London, where he caught them just as they were starting on their long drive north to Gretna Green. They were married the next day, however, Lord George himself and William's only sister, Lady Wallscourt, being present at the ceremony.

It is a curious fact that in the first moments of consternation, when the family found that Selina had run away, they were a little uncertain with whom she had fled, so well had she kept her secret as to the real object of her affection. Her flight did not escape the keen sight of one of the family. Her sister, Mrs de Burgh, was recovering from her confinement at Grosvenor House on the Marine Parade, and, looking out of her window, she saw the yellow post-chaise gallop past, and cried out to those in her room: 'I am sure there is an elopement,' little thinking that her own sister, and her husband's greatest friend, were the running couple.

The scandal could not be kept secret for long, and on 13 December became public property, when the *Observer* informed all and sundry: 'An elopement from Brighton took place Monday. The gentleman, Mr. W. Locke, who is thirty, arrived early in the morning; at two o'clock he returned, taking the road to London accompanied by Miss Selina Tollemache, of the tender age of seventeen, daughter of the Admiral of that name. The flight being discovered, Lord George Lennox set off in pursuit of the fugitives, upon whom he alighted in London and where, it is said, he persuaded them to enter into the holy bonds of matrimony instead of flying further north.'

CAPTAIN LOCKE, HUSBAND OF SELINA TOLLEMACHE
DROWNED IN LAKE COMO SEPTEMBER 14, 1831

LEILA, LADY WALSINGHAM (1833 – 1906), DAUGHTER OF SELINA AND CAPTAIN LOCKE

Reproduced from a picture in possession of the Duchess of Sermoneta

Selina had £8,000 of her own which had been left her by her grandfather, and with this they went to Paris to stay with her husband's parents, arriving in time for the Revolution which disposed of King Charles X. Two years later a daughter had been born, and they were staying on Lake Como, at the Villa Tanzi, which William Locke's parents had rented.

It was on 14 September that the dreadful tragedy took place, of which her brother, Augustus, has again left us an account:

'It must have been a joyous time, that brief autumn with such lovely surroundings, so congenial to their artistic tastes, and how pleasantly the time must have passed—painting, literature and song—with the prattle of the happy child.

'William had bought a sailing boat and was much on the lake—carrying more sail than was thought quite safe—but he had two good native boatmen used to the caprices of the changeful Como. He himself was a strong swimmer, and no thought of danger cast a shadow on their tranquil enjoyments.

'The morning of September 14th broke in all its Italian loveliness, not a cloud in the sky, not a ripple on the blue lake. William went as usual for a sail. His wife had wished to go with him, but the child had cried at seeing them both go away, and would not be pacified till she promised to stay—in all likelihood the child's tears saved her mother's life.

'He had business in Como, its nature has been variously stated to account for what happened. He had changed money at the bank and was weighted with a bag of silver piastres. One thing is certain, his wife had wished for a finely modelled silver crucifix she had seen some days before in Como. He bought it on that day, and it has hung ever since above her sleeping head.

'All went well on the return voyage till the boat reached a point just opposite the villa, when a sudden and terrific squall sprang up. Father, mother, and wife rushed out on to the balcony. The boat was close in sight—so near, indeed, that William was able to exchange signals with them, when she suddenly capsized. They saw the two boatmen struggling in the rough water, but William never rose to the surface.'

Selina's silver crucifix was found securely wedged under a seat in the overturned boat. After her death this treasured possession passed in turn to the little unborn daughter, Leila Lady Walsingham, her grand-daughter, Princess Colonna, and her great grand-daughter, the Duchess of Sermoneta, in whose possession it still remains. I myself have been privileged to see it in my cousin Leila's house in Eaton Square. The Duchess of Sermoneta has written a much more descriptive and vivid account of this tragedy of Lake Como in her delightful book, the *Locks of Norbury*.[1] A contemporary newspaper described William as 'remarkable for the beauty of his person as for the high courage and

[1] Speaking of Peckforton and Helmingham, Princess Teano, afterwards Colonna (the Duchess of Sermoneta's mother), writes, 'I spent many happy days in these two beautiful country places. I am very proud of my Tollemache blood, they are a noble race.'

perfect good temper which insured him the warm friendship of all who knew him. He was no less distinguished in the Sporting world than in the circles of the beau monde; and he was an accomplished amateur artist—as his sketches and designs of the Waverley Novels, published a year or two since, sufficiently prove. . . . It is a singular coincidence that Captain Lock nearly met with a similar accident two years before. While hunting with the stag-hounds in the neighbourhood of Windsor, he attempted to ford the Thames, and was extricated by a brother officer at the peril of his life when apparently dead.'

In his memory a marble tablet is placed on a rock which overhangs the lake

GUILELMUS LOCK ANGLUS
In Conspectu Conjugis
Et Parentum
Submersus
14 September 1832.

I always imagine that the wording on the tablet was drawn up by her brother, and my great-uncle, Augustus Tollemache, who was also a brother officer of William's in the Life Guards. When Augustus died at the great age of ninety-four he left me his little house of Babbacombe Glen, and on the drawing-room wall by the mantelpiece was a drawing of an exceedingly good-looking young man with the artist's signature 'A. D'Orsay, fecit 1832'. On the back Augustus had written 'William Lock, 1st Life Guards Homo formosus et Amabilis—in conspectu Parentum et Conjugis Submersus—1832'. The picture is by my desk as I write; my cousin the Duchess of Sermoneta can no longer speak of 'a great sorrow that has now almost been forgotten by all'.

Leila, a posthumous daughter of the Lockes, was born nearly nine months after her father's death, but the first little daughter, whose tears had probably saved her mother's life, died soon after the family returned to England. Selina's brother, Augustus, made himself Leila's guardian, and they spent many a summer with his elder brother, John Tollemache, at Helmingham. Leila grew up into a lovely girl, inheriting the beauty of her mother and aunts. I have a portrait of her drawn by Uncle Augustus in 1851 when she was just eighteen, standing with her little poodle in her arms, and showing the characteristic good looks of the Tollemache women of that period, on the tall side with a lovely figure, a delicately shaped nose and rather a pointed chin, and great blue eyes shrouded by long brown eyelashes, her well-marked eyebrows above showing a delightful little curve. The year before, she had married Ernest Lord Burghersh, the eldest son of the Earl of Westmorland, another family renowned for good looks. The wedding took place at Apethorpe on 17 October 1849, and Leila was given away by the great Duke of Wellington, who was an old friend of her grandfather, Admiral Tollemache, and an uncle of the bridegroom. Lady Westmorland has left an account of the wedding:

'Our wedding has gone off admirably in every respect. We had the finest day. An

immense concourse of decent, well-dressed people from all the neighbouring towns and villages were on the lawn early in the morning. Soon after eleven we all walked to church, the people forming two lines on each side of the path, all most orderly and respectful. The school children, all dressed alike, strewed flowers from the little gate in the park up to the church. The Duke of Wellington walked with me, and remained in the porch until Leila arrived with her mother, and then led her to the altar. . . . I was quite delighted with Leila's clear and impressive manner of saying the words. Poor Ernest was dreadfully shy and nervous and could scarcely be heard.

'We all walked back as we came. . . . Soon after we went into the village, which had the appearance of a fair from the booths, bands of music, etc., and at the school house I had arranged tables for two hundred poor people who were all seated before good joints of meat, pudding and potatoes. . . .What pleased me most was Leila's kind way of going and talking to all the poor people and children. Yesterday we had a dinner of thirty-four people—being the near relations on both sides—in the gallery, and afterwards a ball in the dining-room, at which all the neighbours were present and seemed highly delighted, the presence of the Duke being an object of great interest to everyone. The dancing was kept up till past three. To-day we have had the wedding breakfast after the ceremony, and shall be twenty-nine at dinner and to-morrow the guests depart.'

A wonderful send off for this handsome young couple.

They spent a few happy months in Ireland. At the theatre in Dublin the whole audience would turn to gaze at the radiance of her beauty, and once at the end of a performance they gave three cheers for 'the young lady in the pink wreath'—an incident which Leila much enjoyed.

But this blissful married life was soon cut short. Lord Burghersh had a bad fall when out hunting, which affected his brain and from which he mercifully died soon after.

Mother and daughter then went to live in Paris, two lovely young widows. Selina was still only thirty-nine, while Leila was nineteen. Here their beauty and the tragedy of romance which enshrouded them brought them unwelcome attention from the highest circles, and when the Emperor Napoleon III attempted to assuage their grief by marrying them off to two of his friends, they felt it was time to seek a more distant sanctuary.

Soon they moved on to Naples, where two years later Leila married the Duke of San' Arpino, who later became the Duke of San Teodoro. He was the owner of the magnificent San Teodoro Palace and of vast estates near the city. There she lived for nearly twenty years amid the brilliant whirl of Italian society. Her mother, Selina, was with her too, for she had her own apartments in the palace. Leila became lady-in-waiting to Princess Margherita, wife of Prince Umberto, then heir to the throne of Italy and afterwards King, and was present at the christening of their child. Temperamentally, however, Leila and her husband were unsuited, and quarrels between them grew more frequent, until she at length obtained a divorce. The Duke being a Roman Catholic

might have made a divorce impossible, but Leila had always refused to give up her own Protestant religion and was able to obtain the intervention of the British Ambassador, Sir Francis Elliot, who was brought in to inspect the bruises on her arm and was fortunately present at the moment that the Duke in a fury of rage threw a plate at Leila's lovely head.

The fact that a number of intercepted love-letters were produced written by Leila to a certain rich and good-looking young peer in England did not prevent, but certainly complicated, the divorce proceedings. Leila then moved to Rome, where her daughter Teresa married Marcantonio, the handsome eldest son of the reigning Prince Colonna.

Marcantonio was an extremely *grand seigneur* with very decided views, which included an intense dislike of country life. He once quoted a remark of a French friend of his as exactly defining his own sentiments: 'Je deteste le Bois de Boulogne, cela me rappelle trop la campagne'.

Vittoria, the daughter of this marriage, a beauty as well known in London as in Rome, was to marry Leone, Duke of Sermoneta, of the great house of Caetani—the implacable enemies of the Colonnas since 1297, when the Caetani Pope, Boniface VIII, tried to exterminate their family by imprisoning the Colonna women inside Rome and forbidding the city to their menfolk.

After Teresa's marriage to Marcantonio Colonna, Leila returned to Paris. It is our family tradition that she used to drive in the Bois in her carriage with two very elegant men—her second husband, the Duke of San' Arpino, whom she had just divorced, and Lord Walsingham, who was shortly to become her third husband—both madly in love with her.

Leila must have been singularly attractive to make Walsingham so determined to make her marry him; she hesitated for long, and it was only at the intervention of his close friend Albert Edward Prince of Wales—later King Edward VII—that she finally capitulated. There was a difference in their ages, she being forty-four, and he ten years younger. She had spent most of her adult days in the exotic life of continental society, while he was devoted to his large estates in Norfolk and his moors in Yorkshire. He was a hardened sportsman and was to develop into the finest shot of his age. His record bag for one gun in one day of 1,070 grouse, which he shot on his own moors in Yorkshire ten years after they married, will never be equalled. Lady Walsingham did her best to accommodate herself to her new responsibilities, making a lovely hostess at their great shooting parties at Merton Hall in Norfolk, where the best shots in Europe were entertained, or at Eaton House, their magnificent mansion which filled up the whole south-west end of Eaton Square, and to which, as her husband was lord-in-waiting to Queen Victoria, all London society wished to congregate.

After sixteen years of married life, the difference in temperaments became insuperable, and they decided to live apart. When she heard that King Edward VII was angry with Lord Walsingham for the way he had behaved, only a very wonderful and great

woman could have sent the message: 'Tell His Majesty that Walsingham gave me sixteen years of happiness and that he must not be hard on him'.

She spent the remaining years of her life at Eaton House, where she never appeared lonely, as there always seemed to be one or more of her old admirers sitting with her in her drawing-room. Time had impaired her beauty, but her wit and charm stayed with her to the last. She noticed everything, and was a great stickler for etiquette. My mother first took me to see her just after I had gone to Eton, and she congratulated her on my upbringing. 'I am very pleased to see that you have taught him the importance of good manners,' she said. 'I noticed how he got up and opened the door whenever any lady left the room.' After that I often used to go and have tea with her, she was always such good company. I am so proud to remember her as I last saw her sitting in her chair in the midst of what would now be termed a ghastly Victorian drawing-room, with her red wig not quite straight, and tapping her stick on the floor. I think her last words to me were, 'My boy, never forget your manners'. I was with my regiment in Cairo when I heard that Cousin Leila had died in the autumn of 1906, but she had with her the two persons that I think she loved the most—her old guardian and uncle, Augustus Tollemache, and her grand-daughter, Vittoria Colonna, the Duchess of Sermoneta.

CHAPTER 22

John Lord Tollemache of Helmingham

ADMIRAL TOLLEMACHE's eldest son, John, my grandfather, was born in 1805. His first public function must have been at the age of sixteen, when he was page to the Earl of Blessington at the coronation of King George IV, who had already been Regent for ten years during the insanity of his father. After the battle of Waterloo, when John was ten years old, the Admiral summoned him to his ship at Portsmouth to see Napoleon aboard the *Bellerophon* on his way to St Helena. John used to say in after years with what pleasure he recalled the generosity of the British sailors, who, in spite of all their past hatred, paid homage to fallen greatness with the hearty cry of 'Vive l'Emperor'. From his father he derived a love of the sea and of naval matters which lasted him to the end of his life.

A year before he died at the age of eighty-five, John and his brother Augustus went over the arsenal and dockyard of Toulon. Augustus writes that the French naval officer who acted as their guide gave the following explanation of the failure of his countrymen at sea during the Revolutionary war:

'They had no good officers at that time. The French navy, unlike the army, was thoroughly loyal; and, after the execution of the King, the best officers emigrated in great numbers, and those who remained were guillotined. Thus the navy was deprived of all its able commanders; and the Government had to replace them with inferior or, at least, inexperienced men.'

John inherited the great physical strength of his father, and was extraordinarily active. In a race of a hundred yards he twice beat the champion runner of England, but he was always modest enough to explain that he was several years younger than the champion, who, he considered, had passed his prime. When bitten by a dog said to be mad he scrubbed his wound vigorously with salt, and afterwards was none the worse for the bite or the salt.

He was thirty-two when his father died, leaving him great wealth and the large properties in Cheshire and Northamptonshire. Three years later, on the death of his great-aunt Lady Louisa Tollemache in 1840, he succeeded to Helmingham and the Suffolk estates.

He and his brother drove down at once to Helmingham in a gig, and we have many of us longed to see it as they saw it then. Time had stood still at Helmingham ever since

the death of Grace Carteret's husband, the fourth Earl, whose brother, the fifth Earl, had owned the house between the ages of sixty and eighty-two and was a miser, and whose sister (Louisa, seventh Countess) had lived there for nineteen years between the ages of seventy-six and ninety-five, becoming totally blind. The two young men explored together its deserted rooms.

It is difficult to trace exactly the alterations that John made, as he committed the unpardonable crime of destroying all his plans. He heightened the main hall at the expense of the floor above, and built the big dining-room in the south-west corner—in itself a beautiful room—with a fine panelling taken from one of the farm-houses on the estate. He put in the great oak staircase and turned what must have been another set of lovely little rooms, with windows looking into the courtyard, into the large drawing-room, sacrificing the little garden on the wall within the moat that the Tollemaches must all have loved. He rebuilt the front Lodges and hung again the beautiful wrought-iron gates which had been moved by wagon from Ham to Helmingham by the last Lord Dysart.

The old brick bridges across the moat were considered unsafe for his four-in-hand, so, leaving the red-brick piers, he spanned the moat with stronger bridges.

He built the present stables beside the old yard, which was enclosed by its own brick walls, and miniature turrets of early Elizabethan brick.

In the garden the old stone eagles still perch on the garden pillars, but the mossy old stone balls he replaced by his family crest, the winged horse's head.

The cottages and schoolhouse in Helmingham village were all built by John, and even in this age hold their own. When the schoolhouse was first built he was disappointed to find the farmers unwilling to send their sons to school with their labourers' children, so my father and his brothers were sent to the village school. The cottages were built with three bedrooms, sitting-room, kitchen, and bakehouse, and each had a large garden and enough land to sow their own corn, which they threshed at home and took to Framsden windmill to be ground. No bread ever tasted better than these good loaves baked in the brick ovens of the Suffolk cottages.

He was a great agriculturist, and as he owned a large acreage of timber in Cheshire he cut down all the woods on his Suffolk property, with the exception of the Round Wood, in order to create more farm-lands. The Round Wood he spared—it was laid out with wide paths and stone figures of gods and goddesses, and in the midst was a charming old painted summerhouse where the family loved to picnic. The two statues that remain now stand at either end of the long walk between the house and garden.

He then sallied forth into the Park, down the Thorn Walk which led to an old brick teahouse, certainly of the seventeenth century, standing in a garden on the borders of a little lake surrounded by trees. What pleasure it had given to many generations of Tollemaches! Inspection showed that Time had been unkind, and that this was also sadly

decayed, so down came our lovely little teahouse; but the bricks are still there, as the new owner must have used them to build an obelisk which now crowns the mount.

He was equally drastic with the furniture, burning anything which appeared worn or worm-eaten, and replacing all but three of the fine old four-poster beds of which Helmingham was once full with the most serviceable that 1845 could produce. (Later, the old beds at Ham were also dismissed by his cousin.)

His brother Augustus, when an old man, looked back sorrowfully on all these changes, and wrote of the feelings with which his great-great-grandmother would have viewed them:

The Lament of Grace Carteret

Dear Helmingham, 'tis sad, in truth, to see
The changes restless Man hath wrought in thee;
Where is the Arch of crimson brick crossed by my sons and daughters?
An iron bridge from Birmingham now spans thy moated waters,
And moved from off their pedestals the mossy gray stone balls
Give place to winged monsters to crown thy garden walls.
Long have I mourned these changes! but now I hope at last
That one of my descendants will restore thy beauty past.

John was even more absorbed in the wide acres of his Cheshire property, where he is reputed to have rebuilt over one hundred of his farm-houses.[1]

The Harrington estate he sold, retaining only the patronage of the livings. He already owned more land than he could look after, and his great-uncle the fifth Earl had demolished the Hall. The fifth Earl had also pulled down Woodhey, so there was no suitable home in Cheshire for John's requirements. He chose a very wonderful site, on the spur of the Peckforton Hills, facing the high conical hill on which stand the ruins of ancient Beeston Castle. There he built, with stone from his own quarries and timber from his forests, what should be an anachronism, but is really wonderfully suited to its surroundings, a stupendous castle, containing over a hundred rooms, stabling for thirty to forty horses, and a chapel. The size can be imagined when it is realized that the hall and drawing-room can contain quite comfortably a full-sized badminton court. The cost was only about thirty thousand pounds.

Having made his plans, he sailed for America, and on the last morning of his homeward voyage when they had entered the Mersey he went on deck and saw an unfamiliar sight on the Peckforton Hills, the rising walls of his new home.

The castle was begun in 1844 and completed in 1852. The architect was Salvin, who embodied in his plans all the neofeudal and characteristic details suggested by John

[1] His estates in Cheshire consisted of about 26,000 acres and 7,000 in Suffolk, also the rich Halliday property in Antigua of 15,000 acres (which he eventually sold to Lord Combermere). He also inherited the fine house in Piccadilly, which he sold to Lord Rothschild. Though a strong Conservative he was a most liberal-minded man, being called 'the labourers' lord'.

Tollemache. Its massive structure, built to withstand time, the bare, wrought, red sandstone walls, the groined ceilings, make it rank among the English castles of an earlier age.

A steep climb through the Peckforton Woods leads to the high Stanner, that gaunt rock near which the ravens built their nests, from where the view embraces thirteen counties. In the valley below, under the shade of an old spreading beech-tree, rises the spring which goes by the name of 'Horsley Bath,' so called from the time of the Romans. Here is the wishing well, in which we all have thrown our coins and listened for their final splash. The Bath supplies the castle with water which analysis states to be the purest in England, not excepting the waters of Malvern. He had found a rather different state of affairs at Helmingham, of which the poetic Augustus wrote:

> The Noble Owner was put out,
> He wished to be quite sure
> The treasured water in the moat
> Was absolutely pure.
>
> In this he wisely judged,
> For there's good reason to think
> The Family at Helmingham
> Had nothing else to drink.

John sat as Member of Parliament for Cheshire South 1841–68, and for Cheshire West 1868–72. His eldest son, Wilbraham, who succeeded him, was M.P. for Cheshire West 1872–85, and his nephew, Henry Tollemache of Dorfold Hall, was M.P. for the Eddisbury division 1885–1906; so the family was represented in Parliament for Conservative Cheshire for sixty-five consecutive years.

His politics seem to have been chiefly centred in agriculture, as the owner of many tens of thousands of acres of English land. By birth and conviction he was a Tory. He was an ardent Protectionist, and was one of those fifty or sixty members who, to the very last division, opposed the repeal of the Corn Laws. He was one of the first, if not the first, to introduce allotments for the workers on his estates, and has, in fact, a better claim than Mr Jesse Collings to the historic phrase of 'Three acres and a cow', for it was a visit to the Peckforton Estates in 1884 that inspired Mr Impey's leaflet with that title. Mr Joseph Chamberlain, then a leading Radical, delivered a speech in which he declared Lord Tollemache to be one of the very best of English landlords, which transformed him to many from a die-hard Tory Protectionist into a Radical hero.

He was far-seeing in his views. A friend suggested to him that young trees should be planted in the avenue at Helmingham to replace the old ones as they died off or were blown down. 'I think not,' he replied; 'the young trees by the side of the very old ones would be an eyesore for many years; and very likely, before they had time to grow up, property would be made hay of.' He was asked whether he in any way expected a

wholesale confiscation of land. 'Certainly not,' was the answer, 'the Radicals are far too wide-awake to frighten people in that way. All they have to do is to lay taxation more and more on wealth; and, depend upon it, they'll do this.' And they did. When he died in 1890, the income tax had risen to the stupendous sum of eightpence in the pound. I tremble to think what he would have said if he had known that if he had lived some fifty years later he would have paid nineteen shillings and sixpence in the pound, and when he died would have presented to the Government seventy-five pounds for every hundred he expected to leave to posterity and for the upkeep of his estates.

His friends were varied; from John Bright, Quaker, extreme Liberal (ardent Free-trader who, in his speeches in Parliament was wont to assail the aristocracy with considerable bitterness, and wrote an *Address to the Tenant Farmers of Great Britain* strongly condemning the existing Game Laws), with whom he was frequently seen walking arm-in-arm in the West End of London, to Princess Alexandra, the young wife of the Prince of Wales, and later to become Queen of England, whom he used to call for at Marlborough House to drive her round Hyde Park in his curricle.

In 1876 he was created Baron Tollemache of Helmingham, as a reward for the great good he had done for his country as the leading agriculturist of his day.

'His labours in the interests of his tenant farmers and the poorer classes of Agriculturists were widely felt and appreciated. His total expenditure on farmsteads and cottages up to 1881 amounted to £280,000. Like most active men he was a very early riser, a complete stranger to ill health, fond of horses and all domestic animals and he encouraged athletics amongst his villagers and tenantry. On his private cricket ground in Helmingham Park, he could put in the field against "all comers" an eleven composed entirely of his sons.

'Lord Tollemache used to drive his four in hand of chestnuts in Hyde Park in the season, and at Ipswich was frequently seen driving them through the tortuous streets and even through the narrow courtyard of the White Horse.

'Above the average height and so fleet of foot that he more than once beat professional runners. He had bold features, strong chin and a peculiarly pleasant smile. His dress was extremely simple for those days, usually a frock coat buttoned, but no waist coat. His robust constitution seemed proof against all kinds of weather. One hard winter it was mentioned as a sign of the severity of the weather that Lord Tollemache had appeared at his Club wearing a waist coat! With great suavity of manner he had an intensely strong will and in his family a great autocrat. He would take any amount of trouble to serve a constituent or help a friend, but though for thirty years he had given the Conservative party consistent support he would ask nothing for himself or his sons. His religious feelings were strongly Evangelical but he had full sympathy for all nonconformists. He possessed his full faculties to the end.[1] Mr Robert Talmage kindly sent us the

[1] From General Sir Lewis Halliday's book.

JOHN, FIRST LORD TOLLEMACHE OF HELMINGHAM, IN HIS CURRICLE WITH LADY SUDELEY

PECKFORTON CASTLE

following amusing little extract from an article in *The New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings 1896*, in which General Grant Wilson wrote: 'I was lately a guest of an Englishman whose ancestors had lived on the same spot for more than a thousand years. Lord Tollemache occupies an ancient Castle—Helmingham—surrounded by a double moat where drawbridges are raised as they were in the days of Queen Elizabeth. When I asked him if his ancestors came over with William the Conqueror, the proud old patrician of four score years replied, "No, my family was here a hundred years before the bastard was born".' [1]

John Tollemache's first wife was Georgina Best, his first cousin, whose mother was the Lady Emily Stratford, the lady of sixteen years whom his father had spanked. She bore him many sons, but only two survived her, Lyonel and Wilbraham.

Georgina had a lovely face, and her piety and devotion seemed to be the outstanding side of her character. She was an exemplary wife and mother. An oil portrait hangs over John's study mantelpiece at Helmingham, and her influence on his life never waned. He held to the end the tenets of her strong evangelical faith.

He was a Low Churchman, and would countenance no ritual in the livings of which he owned the Patronage. The day began and ended with prayers for the whole household, and on Sundays no hot meals were allowed to be served, and his guests drank white wine instead of champagne.

Georgina died in 1846, forty-five years before John, and was buried in Helmingham Church; her funeral sermon was preached by the Rev J. C. Ryle, Rector of Helmingham for eighteen years.

When John married again, it was to Eliza Georgina, the very young daughter of James Duff. Her mother, who was a daughter of Sir George Prescott, afterwards married the fourth Lord Rendlesham.

In loyalty to his first wife, we are told that at his wedding he insisted on wearing a band of crepe round his hat, and that he took his youngest son, Lionel, on their honeymoon.

Lord Tollemache's family was in numbers on a scale with his large ideas. He produced twenty-four sons, of whom only twelve survived him, and one daughter. She was born at Helmingham, and he, walking in the churchyard and wondering what to christen this longed-for little girl, suddenly turned at the Gypsy Queen's tombstone with its delicate carving and decided on 'Rhona'.

The Gypsy Queen had died at Helmingham in 1810, nursed at the Hall, it is said, by Lady Dysart. An old cottager, Mrs Weedon (her grandson is today the estate carpenter), used to tell of the wonderful gypsy funeral, the long red cloaks of the men lining the road, the proud, heart-broken young king who had ordered the carved-stone monu-

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[1] This evidently refers to Athelmarche, who fought the Danes.

ment, and how when his solvency was questioned by the stone-mason, he threw on the ground his bag of gold coins. The inscription reads:

In Memory of RHONA the wife of
Clarke Boswell and daughter of
Rose Loven. Who died
April 18 in 1810 aged 18 years.
Also Slijah their son, who died
June 11th 1810 aged 3 months.

Farewell dear husband and I bid this world adieu;
Your child is with me, the Lord hath called him too.
Here boast not reader of thy might
Alive at noon, and dead at night.

Gypsies passing through Helmingham village would often bring presents to the lovely little girl, their own Queen's namesake.

John had sold the house in Piccadilly on his father's death and had moved to 10, St James's Square, a house which had belonged to three Prime Ministers, Lord Chatham, Mr Perceval, and Lord Derby. Here many gay parties were given for Rhona, the much-sought-after sister among so many brothers. She married Colonel Tom Wood of Littleton, Middlesex, and of Gwernyfed Park on the Wye. He was a Grenadier who had fought at Tel-el-Kebir. His father had fought in the Crimea and was the officer painted in the famous picture of 'The Roll Call', and his grandfather had fought at Waterloo. He drove in his four-in-hand from Littleton to the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, when he joined as a cadet; and when in the Regiment won his bet—that he would drive his coach unchallenged round the courtyard of Buckingham Palace. He and Rhona lived for over fifty years in perfect happiness together.

Lord Tollemache's sons were all high-spirited, good-looking and good sportsmen, and above the average at games. Four were in the Eton Eleven, and one of them twelfth man; the youngest, Mortimer, got into the Eton Eleven his first summer half, and played for four years.

They seemed to have inherited from their great-grandmother, Lady Aldborough, her love of practical jokes. Various stories of these are handed down. The famous Cambridge long-jumper came to stay at Helmingham and jumped successfully a dyke, probably some eighteen feet wide and ten deep. When, after an excellent dinner, he was asked if he could achieve the same success in the dark he readily accepted the challenge. Instead of the dyke the rascally brothers led him to the edge of the Lays—the Fishponds beside the Dyke, where he measured his run, marked with a white handkerchief his take-off, and disappeared into the darkness and mud with a splash.

Another tale is of the Hungarian nobleman who owned vast acres of the best stag country in the Carpathians, where members of the family had shot. He arrived late one

evening for a night at Helmingham. The brothers, determined not to be outdone, led the conversation after dinner into the realms of stags and of the fine heads that could be obtained in the British Isles, particularly in the wilds of Suffolk. After their father had gone to bed they informed the Hungarian that he had been allotted the best beat to stalk the following morning. The nobleman was awakened very early, and the party sallied forth across the drawbridge. They crept along across the park, through hedges and across fields until they arrived back in the Oak Grove, a few hundred yards from their starting point. The timing was perfect. It was just getting light enough to see the foresight, and on the far side of the Oak Grove loomed up the form of an enormous stag, a magnificent beast of eighteen points, who was known to be always browsing at that spot before dawn. Crack—there was just enough light for an expert shot, and the party returned to the Hall in triumph by another long roundabout route. The delighted Hungarian nobleman was hurried off after an early breakfast without an opportunity to thank his host for his magnificent sport, and was driven by the brothers in a closed carriage, who made certain that he did not see the herds of deer which roamed the park. The head was presented to him with suitable ceremony in London, and I trust adorned the walls of his castle to show what England and Suffolk could produce.

How happy were those days at Helmingham—the large house parties, the cricket matches on the long cricket ground between the House and the Oak Grove known as 'the thicks', where the Tollemache brothers, an eleven in themselves, would challenge the surrounding village teams.

The two old pike who lived in solitary grandeur in the moat—Jacob and Esau—Jacob under the dining-room windows gobbling anything thrown out to him, and Esau, who swam on the kitchen side, each keeping his own beat. Lord Tollemache driving in the afternoons with his chosen visitor. In summer-time, as he drove by, the harvesters working in the fields would give the old call of 'Largesse, largesse', which he bountifully answered. Lady Tollemache in her Victoria with her little grand-daughters. There were bells on her harness, and as she drove through the village the people came out and curtsied to her. She was always on some errand of mercy: blankets for the old women; pyramids of dolls all dressed by her old maid, Flick, for the school; and the best beef-tea made for any of the villagers who needed it.

John Tollemache quite early in life took to wearing a wig. He told how after landing on the south coast he had put his wife and children into a cab and himself walked to the station. Stopping suddenly in front of a barber's shop he said to the shopman, 'I like the look of that wig in the window. How long would it take to shave my head?' 'A quarter of an hour, sir.' 'I can give you twenty minutes, and I shall then have five minutes to catch my train.' When he joined his wife and family he was wearing the wig. He persisted in wearing the wig for the rest of his life, even though he allowed his fine curly hair to grow beneath it. There is a story of him at a dinner-party in London. The butler noticed a wig lying on the floor. Looking round at the guests for the owner, he saw only

one with a bald head, on which he quietly but firmly placed the wig (the real owner being Lord Tollemache).

John had always been a famous whip and a great horsemaster. He specialized in liver-coloured chestnuts with long manes and tails, and would not have a docked horse. He always insisted on the minimum and plainest of brown-leather harness, no silver, brass, or crest. He maintained that a good horse required no adornment. He was the last to drive a curricle in London. On one occasion, when he was over eighty, he drove his four-in-hand, and when congratulated on this achievement he gave the characteristic explanation: 'I had a fool of a coachman who did not know how to drive so I had to teach him. I found it hard work to get on the box, but when I was once hoisted up it was all right.' He was well known and respected by the London 'bus drivers. He used to pull up his four-in-hand and give way to their struggling omnibus horses. They would salute him with their whips.

In Suffolk there are places, we are told, where only Lord Tollemache could turn his coach and four. One day he drove over to visit Lord and Lady de Saumarez at Shrublands. He had a young and inexperienced coachman with him, and gave him strict orders not to get on the box, but to stand with the grooms at the heads of his spirited horses. The coachman disobeyed. The coach was upset and the horses down. He himself rushed out and got under the coach and courageously cut the horses free.

The Japanese Mission came to stay at Peckforton on their way to Ireland. By some bad management they missed their train at Tarporley, but John was equal to the occasion and galloped them in his coach the fourteen miles to Chester to catch their connexion.

We grandchildren used to go with him to feed his horses every morning. At Peckforton he would sit on a bench in the long stables and, as the groom unloosed the horses in their stalls, he would call each one by name. How well they knew his voice! There was a clever stable cat that used to jump from one horse's back to another all the way down the stables; but there was one bad-tempered horse, the Czar, and the cat always jumped clear of him.

The Tollemache livery at that time was still in accordance with the family colours, black and white as in the Coat of Arms. The winter livery was black with white facings and silver buttons, and the summer one was white with black facings. He maintained his house in considerable state: a steward, groom of the chambers, butlers, valets, footmen, and night watchmen, and an incredible number of female domestics, who all filed into the hall for family prayers and were expected to attend church in full liveries. To cut short a long sermon Lord Tollemache would stand up in his pew, holding his watch in his hand.

In the later stages of his life he was faced with the problem of providing as he considered suitably for his younger sons, many of whom it must have been apparent showed little inclination to make any money on their own. He consulted one of his sons—

HELMINGHAM

'Beauty that is enriched by association with the mystery and romance of a vanished age.'—GRAY

Hamilton—whose opinion he much valued, but who was somewhat socialistically inclined in his views as to the distribution of property. It was finally agreed that £30,000 each was a suitable amount, and in order to produce this very large sum of £360,000 without impoverishing the eldest son he reluctantly decided to sell some of the family pictures, comforting himself with the thought that one of his sons, Duff, was an accomplished artist and would be able to copy them. Mr Wertheimer, through whom the sale was effected, spent the night at Peckforton, and in the morning, as he was waiting for the carriage to take him to the station, he asked if he could see Lord Tollemache to say good-bye. He found him, as he well knew he would, sitting in his usual chair in the study. As he was leaving the room he turned round and said, 'I would like to buy that clock, my Lord, if you would care to name your price'. Lord Tollemache, who disliked intensely the whole transaction and had no intention of selling his clock, replied 'Five hundred pounds', the highest price he could think of for a clock of which he had no idea of the value, his sole object being to get rid of Mr Wertheimer with the greatest possible dispatch. 'Thank you, my Lord', said the Jew, and tucking the clock under his arm he left the room. The clock was passed on to the Rothschild family at a considerably enhanced value.

The second of the younger sons was my father, Hamilton, who died when he was forty-one. He was in the Durham Light Infantry, the smart regiment of that time, then in India. His diaries tell of pig-sticking parties and the Regatta, in which he took successful part, and of the impressions made on him by that great country. On his return he was called to the Bar and married Mabel, daughter of Robert Hanbury, M.P., of Poles, Hertfordshire and 10, Upper Grosvenor Street. Her mother was Caroline, eldest daughter of Abel Smith of Woodhall. She was loved by the large family she had entered. She used to tell us that she once sat next to Bishop Ryle, who for so many years had been Rector at Helmingham. He had rather frightened her by saying the Tollemaches were very good lovers and very good haters too. Her Quaker ancestry and upbringing stood her in good stead. Hamilton had the same thoughts, and they both loved to help in all the good works of the parishes.

Hamilton, my father, was the favourite of his family and of the village, and the son on whose advice his father most relied.

Stanhope became agent to his father, who as a reward gave him Bawdsey, an old Elizabethan house with some land round it on the Deben, where Lionel, the fourth Earl, loved to go, and many of his books are marked as read there. This property was, alas, sold by Stanhope to Sir Cuthbert Quilter.

Douglas, the most far-seeing of the brothers, founded the Tollemache brewery. He dared not tell his father of this enterprise, and in this he judged rightly. His father, seeing the 'Tolly' beer advertised on a public-house as he drove back from Ipswich, was horrified and considered it degrading to the name of Tollemache.

Douglas and his wife lived in Ipswich, generous and kind to all around. He died on

31 December, 1944. The brewery has been a brilliant financial success, and the courage of a younger brother's venture has proved a blessing to the whole family.

A few years before his death John Lord Tollemache sold his London house. It went to yet another great Prime Minister, Mr Gladstone. It is called today, after its first famous owner, Chatham House. From then onward there were only two journeys undertaken each year, when a special train took Lord John and all his family and servants from Helmingham to Peckforton in the autumn and back to Helmingham in the spring. He taught us children 'beggar my neighbour' to play with him in the saloon carriage on the journey. It was lovely to hear the Helmingham Church bells pealing as they always did to welcome Lord and Lady Tollemache's return.

He was an excellent landlord and knew every man, woman, and child on his estate. His death was characteristic of his life. One cold winter in 1890 he was sitting in front of the fire in the long gallery at Peckforton when he was told that one of his tenants was dangerously ill. He at once ordered his carriage and drove off into the night. Hamilton went with him, and when coming back up the hill the fog was too dense to see the road. He gave the horses the reins and trusted them to find the way and to bring him safely home. He died a few days after of a cold he had then caught, and we grandchildren [1] from a window in the 'Cathedral passage' watched his funeral cortège drive round the courtyard on its way to Helmingham, where he was buried.

His literary son, Lyonel, writes of him as one of the 'grandest specimens of a country gentleman that our generation has seen or is likely to see', and rightly ascribed to him the euology which Hamlet bestowed on his father:

> He was a man, take him for all in all,
> I shall not look upon his like again.

[1] These grandchildren were Marguerite and Winifred, daughters of the Hon Hamilton Tollemache, and his eldest son Edward (the author of this book); also Elyned, daughter of Rhona, the Hon Mrs Tom Wood.

CHAPTER 23

Wilbraham Lord Tollemache and his Descendants

JOHN LORD TOLLEMACHE had two sons by his first marriage—Wilbraham and Lyonel. Lyonel went to Harrow and Balliol College, Oxford, and was the author of many books. His talks with Mr Gladstone brought him the eulogy of 'The Boswell of our Age'. He married Beatrice, daughter of Lord Egerton of Tatton, a Cheshire neighbour.

Wilbraham, who succeeded his father when he was fifty-eight, still found sufficient revenues from the estate to live at Peckforton and Helmingham, though with somewhat less state than his father, but he was determined to practise enough economy to save a sum sufficient to meet his own death duties. This he achieved. He put electric light into Peckforton in place of the vast numbers of lamps and candles it had required to light it. He also installed central heating with a furnace so large as to be well-nigh capable of running the *Queen Elizabeth*.

He was content at Helmingham with the old lighting, but put in a mild form of central heating, and on the ground floor he made a bathroom, the first, and still the only one at Helmingham.

He married Emma, second daughter of the ninth Earl of Galloway, and until his father died lived at Tilstone, a house on the edge of the Peckforton estate. In those days he rode regularly to hounds with his little daughter, Blanche. She was nine years old when her mother died at the birth of her second daughter, Grace. Grace was immediately taken by her great-aunt and uncle to Dorfold.

Wilbraham was Member of Parliament for Cheshire from 1872 to 1885 and was a J.P. and D.L. He lived for fourteen years at Peckforton and Helmingham, and was a character just, kind, gentle, and trusted by all. No better man has ever lived at Helmingham. His children were singularly gifted—most of all his two beautiful and brilliant daughters, Blanche and Grace, neither of whom married.

Blanche was both musician and painter and had a life-giving influence on all whom she came across. She was a fine horsewoman and, like all Tollemaches, a great lover of animals. The village choir at Helmingham surpassed itself under her encouragement, and the blacksmith's sister, Marilla Knight, became a singer trained by Blanche.

Grace, the poetess, wrote under the name of Lucilla, and her poetry, full of pathos and force, will stand the test of time and take its place in English literature.

Wilbraham, a younger brother, took up music, which he was fond of composing, and played the violin, while Randolph, who had great success in his portraits of his fellow-midshipmen, left the Navy when he became a lieutenant and decided to be a portrait painter. He studied in Herkomer's school, but ill-health cut short a career which began with such promise and to which his paintings at Helmingham bear witness.

Lyonel, eldest son of Wilbraham, married Sybil, the only child of the seventh Earl of Kingston, and was drowned while bathing at Bala, off the coast of Wales. He was fond of horses and racing, and had great charm and sense of humour.

She left two sons, Bentley Lyonel John, who succeeded his grandfather as third Baron. He served in the South African and First World War and married Wynford, daughter of General Sir Arnold Kemball, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., by whom he had two daughters, Dorothy and Frances. She died in 1926, and two years later he married Lynette, the daughter of Alfred Pawson, who was decorated with the M.B.E. and the Order of St John of Jerusalem for her splendid work in the Second World War. They have one daughter, Sybil Diana.

Bentley Lord Tollemache's brother, Colonel Denis Plantaganet, never married. He commanded the 7th Hussars and won the D.S.O. in the First World War. He died in 1942.

Wilbraham Lord Tollemache's second wife was Mary the daughter of the Right Honourable Lord Claude Hamilton, brother of the First Duke of Abercorn.

He left his London house and Helmingham to Mary for her lifetime with sufficient money for their upkeep, and his estates to his grandson Bentley.

To the young modern, Mary must have seemed a trifle eccentric in her later years. She had taken a long time to accustom herself to the motor car, but finally she purchased a large one with a landaulette body so that she could always have it open and keep up her lace parasol. She disliked bright light, and sometimes even insisted on having her parasol open over her head in bed. She died aged eighty-five, and was buried at Helmingham.

Since her death the family has not lived at Helmingham, but the rooms are not deserted, nor the garden neglected. Its well-trimmed walks and borders still have the unremitting care of Fairweather, the best of gardeners; and Margaret Borley, the housekeeper and dear friend of the family, is still there, lavishing on Helmingham Hall the same love and care, as if those so constantly in her thoughts, and whom she has served faithfully for forty years, were present with her still.

She would have made a subject for Holbein, with her pale face and parted hair and plain black gown. She loves to talk of the past and her memories of those days, and for the sake of those days she still works for Helmingham's future and the family.

It is written in an old article on Suffolk: 'Helmingham presents a connecting link between the strong castles of the old barons and the battered mansions which succeeded

them. The park contains about 500 acres and is stocked with deer. The entrance is placed between two lodges. An avenue lined by beautiful old trees leads to the draw bridge and south front of the house which is surrounded by a wide parapet overlooking the moat. Romance and Helmingham walk hand in hand and this romantic atmosphere permeates everything.'

Helmingham Library

LIONEL, third Earl of Dysart and the Duke of Lauderdale, collected many of the books at Helmingham. Helmingham library is particularly rich in manuscripts, the most celebrated among them being the Lauderdale manuscript, which dates from the reign of King Alfred, A.D. 871–901. One of Alfred's wise acts was the establishment of National literature in England, and among the translations of Latin treatises was a summary of a general history as far as it could then be known, and these treatises translated into Anglo-Saxon (or Old English, as the language is more properly named), form the splendid Lauderdale Manuscript. It is written on vellum stretched over wood, fastened with curious clasps, and is the work of more than one transcriber. It is a genuine relic of the time of King Alfred. There are many other old manuscripts in Helmingham library; among them is the only copy known of Sir Gunner Rides, a long romance of the fifteenth century in English verse written on parchment, and a small book filled with tracts of the fifteenth century, bearing the motto 'manners makyth man', of Winchester College. There are besides these early treasures vast quantities of later manuscripts, amongst them a play written in the middle of the seventeenth century by one John Pallen, Chancellor of the Church at Lincoln and dedicated to Lady Tallmash, Countess of Dysart, afterwards Duchess of Lauderdale.

The library also contains a copy of the first book ever printed in England. This is the 'Game and Play of Chesse', printed by Caxton in Westminster Abbey in 1474, also the 'booke of Moral Sayings of Philosophers', printed by Caxton in 1477. Another manuscript at Helmingham described by Mr Horwood as superb, is known as the 'traversa manuscript', a translation completed in 1398, being originally written in Latin by a Franciscan monk. It is a compilation of the opinions and of the science of the day on all and everything, and was divided into nineteen books, and is a very mine of rare old English words and technical terms. There is a copy at the British Museum and another in University College, Cambridge, but neither is as fine as the Helmingham copy. The colours of the illuminated letters are perfectly fresh, and the gold is bright as when it was completed. The library among its many other treasures contains a copy of 'diets and sayings of Philosophers', a book printed by Caxton in 1477. Among the many philosophers were Homer, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and St Gregory, but there are so many books of unique interest that it is difficult to choose the most interesting. There is also a valuable collection of armour among the treasures at Helmingham.

LIONEL TALMACH *of Bentley county Suffolk*

JOHN TALLEMACH *of Bentley aforesaid* — . . . . . *daughter of* . . . . . *Lowth of Sawtry county Huntingdon, Gent.*

LYONEL TALLEMACH *of Helmingham county Suffolk, Son and heir* — *Edith, daughter and heir of* . . . . . *Joyce of Helmingham aforesaid*

LYONELL TALLEMACH *Son and heir* — *Dorothy, daughter of Sir Richard Wentworth of Nettlestead county Suffolk, Knight*

(*See page* 17)

L | D

(*See page* 2)

(*From page* 1)

L | D

LYONELL TALLEMACH *Son and heir* — *Susan, daughter of Sir Ambrose Jermin of Rushbrooke county Suffolk, Knight*

SIR LYONELL TALLEMASH *of Helmingham, Knight and Baronet, Son and heir* — *Katherine, daughter of Henry Lord Cromwell*

(*See page* 19)

SIR LIONELL TALLEMACH *of Fakenham county Suffolk, Knight and Baronet* — *Elizabeth, daughter of John, Lord Stanhope of Harrington*

SIR LIONEL TOLLEMACHE *of Helmingham and of Great Fakenham both county Suffolk, Baronet. Buried 25 March 1669 at Helmingham. 1st Husband* — *Elizabeth, Countess of Dysart and Lady Huntingtour, eldest daughter of William Murray, who by Letters Patent dated 3 August 1643 at Oxford was created Earl of Dysart and Lord of Huntingtower. Succeeded her father, and on 5 December 1670 was granted a new Patent of Nobility, by which the Patent of 3 August 1643 was confirmed and she, on the resignation of her title, was created Countess of Dysart and Lady of Huntingtour, her issue to succeed as Earls or Countesses of Dysart and Lords or Ladies of Huntingtour. Died 5, and buried 16 June 1698 at Petersham. Will dated 3 November 1696 (in which she desired to be buried in the vault where her mother, three of her sisters and three of her children were buried), proved by her son the Earl of Dysart 28 October 1698* — JOHN MAITLAND, DUKE OF LAUDERDALE *Married 17 March 1671/2 at Petersham. Died 24 August 1682. 2nd Husband*

L | E

(*See page* 3)

(*From page 2*)

L | E

LIONEL, EARL OF DYSART. *Born 30 January 1648/9 at Helmingham aforesaid. Succeeded his father as Baronet, March 1669, and his mother as Earl of Dysart and Lord Huntingtower 5 June 1698. Admitted at Queens College, Cambridge 28 March 1665. Representative in Parliament for Suffolk 1673/4, 1698, 1700/1, 1702 and 1705/7, and for Orford 1685–7, Lord Lieutenant and Vice Admiral of Suffolk. Died 23 February 1726/7 buried at Helmingham M. I there. Will dated 13 March 1723/4, proved with two Codicils. 1st Husband*

Grace, daughter and coheir of Sir Thomas Wilbraham of Woodhey county Chester, Baronet. Antenuptial settlement dated 4 May 1680. Died 26 April 1740, buried at Helmingham aforesaid 2 May following. Will dated 25 May 1732, proved 13 May 1740

WARREN *of county Chester. Married December 1735. 2nd Husband*

LIONEL, *styled* LORD HUNTINGTOWER *only son and heir apparent. Born 6 and Baptized 20 June 1682 at Helmingham aforesaid. Died V.P July 1712, buried 1 August following at Helmingham. Will dated 13 July 1712, proved 30 March 1713*

Henrietta Cavendish alias Heneage, said to have been natural daughter of William Cavendish, Duke of Devonshire. Married 6 December 1706 at St. James', Clerkenwell. Died 11 January 1717/18. Will dated 13 December 1717, proved 17 January 1717/18

LIONEL, EARL OF DYSART *and* LORD HUNTINGTOWER, *K.T. Born 1 May 1708 at Helmingham aforesaid. Succeeded his grandfather as Earl of Dysart and Lord Huntingtower 23 February 1726/7. K.T. 1743. Died at Helmingham 10 and buried there 27 March 1770. Will dated 28 July 1769, proved 5 April 1770. P.C.C.*

Grace, eldest daughter of John, Lord Carteret, afterwards 1st Earl Granville, K.G. Born 8 July 1713. Married 22 July 1729 at St. George's, Hanover Square county Middlesex. Died 23 July 1755, buried at Helmingham aforesaid 10 August following

L | G

(*See page 7*)

TUDOR ROYAL DESCENT

(*From page* 5)

H | M

THOMAS THYNNE *created* VISCOUNT WEYMOUTH *and* BARON THYNNE *of Warminster county Wilts by Patent dated* 11 *December* 1684. *Died* 28 *July* 1714, *aet:* 74, *buried at Longbridge Deverell county Wilts. Will dated* 4 *November* 1709, *proved* 4 *August* 1714 (169 *Aston*)

═══ *Frances, eldest daughter of Heneage Finch, Earl of Winchelsea. Died* 17 *April* 1712, *buried at Longbridge Deverell aforesaid*

SIR ROBERT WORSLEY *of Appledercombe in the Isle of Wight, Baronet. Died* 27 *July* 1747 *aet:* 77, *Will dated* 4 *June* 1746, *proved* 5 *August* 1747 (219 *Potter*)

═══ *Frances, only daughter of Thomas Thynne, Viscount Weymouth. Married* 11 *September* 1690. *Died* 2 *April* 1750 *aet:* 76. *Will dated* 26 *July* 1748, *proved* 12 *May* 1750. (162 *Greneley*)

JOHN CARTERET, EARL GRANVILLE. *Born* 22 *April* 1690. *Elected Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* 22 *June* 1749, *installed* 12 *July* 1750. *Will dated* 19 *September* 1757, *proved with* 2 *Codicils* 7 *January* 1763 (17 *Caesar*)

═══ *Frances, only daughter and at length sole heir. Born* 6 *March* 1694. *Married* 10 *October* 1710. *Died at Hanover* 9 *June* 1743. *Admon of her effects granted to her husband, John, Earl Granville* 14 *May* 1748

TUDOR ROYAL DESCENT

(*From page 6*)

E | C

EDWARD SEYMOUR, BARON BEAUCHAMP. *Eldest son. Died vita patris* 1618 ═ *Honora, daughter of Sir Richard Rogers of Bryanstone county Dorset, Knight*

WILLIAM SEYMOUR, EARL OF HERTFORD *created* MARQUESS OF HERTFORD *and restored to the* DUKEDOM OF SOMERSET, *K.G. Died* 24 *October* 1660, *buried at Great Bedwin county Wilts* ═ *Frances, eldest daughter of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex and sister and coheir of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. Died* 24 *April* 1674, *aged* 74 *years and* 6 *months, buried at Great Bedwin. M.I.*

HENEAGE FINCH, EARL OF WINCHELSEA ═ *Mary, daughter of William Seymour, Duke of Somerset*

H | M

(*See page 4*)

TUDOR ROYAL DESCENT

(*See also pages* 5 *and* 4)

HENRY THE SEVENTH, *King of England. Died* 21 *April* 1509 ═ ELIZABETH OF YORK, *eldest daughter of King Edward IV. Died* 11 *February* 1502

CHARLES BRANDON, DUKE OF SUFFOLK. *Died* 24 *August* 1545 ═ *Mary, daughter of King Henry the Seventh and widow of Lewis the Twelfth, King of France. Died* 25 *June* 1533

HENRY GREY, DUKE OF SUFFOLK. *Died* 23 *February* 1554 ═ *Frances, eldest daughter of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. Died* 12 *February* 1559

EDWARD SEYMOUR, EARL OF HERTFORD *and* BARON BEAUCHAMP. *Died* 1 *April* 1621 ═ *Catherine, 2nd daughter and heir of Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk. Died* 22 *January* 1567

E | C

(*See page* 5)

(*From page* 3)

L | G

LIONEL, EARL OF DYSART, *Born* 1734, *Died* 1799, *Married* (1) 1760, *Charlotte, third daughter of the Hon. Sir Edward Walpole, K.B. She died* 1789. *Married* (2) 1791, *Magdalena, daughter of David Lewis, of Malvern Hall, Warwick. She died* 1823

WILBRAHAM, EARL OF DYSART, *Born* 1739, *Died* 1821, *Married* 1773, *Anna Maria, daughter of David Lewis aforesaid, She died* 1804

SIR LIONEL WILLIAM JOHN (TOLLEMACHE) EARL OF DYSART, BARON HUNTINGTOWER *and a Baronet, Born* 1794, *Died* 1878 ═ *Maria Elizabeth, daughter of Sweeny Toone, of Keston county Kent. Married* 1819, *Died* 1869

WILLIAM LIONEL FELIX TOLLEMACHE LORD HUNTINGTOWER, *Born* 1820, *Died* 1872 ═ *Katherine Elizabeth Camilla, daughter of Sir Joseph Burke, Bart., Married* 1851, *Died* 1896

SIR WILLIAM JOHN MANNERS (TOLLEMACHE) EARL OF DYSART, BARON HUNTINGTOWER *and a Baronet, Born* 1859, *Died* 22 *November* 1935 ═ *Cecilia Florence daughter of George Ouslow Newton, Married* 19 *November* 1885, *Died* 23 *September* 1917 *in London*

CHARLES NORMAN LINDSAY SCOTT, *Born* 1853, *Living* 1938 ═ *Agnes Mary Manners, Born* 1853, *Married* 1882, *Died* 1912

OWAIN EDWARD WHITEHEAD GREAVES, *late Major Royal Horse Guards, Born* 1882 ═ *Wenefryde Agatha, Countess of Dysart and Baroness Huntingtower, Born* 1889, *Married* 1913

Rosamund Agnes
Born 1914

Katherine
Born 1918

Mary
Born 1921

JOHN MANNERS *Born* 1730. *Died* 1792 — *Louisa, Countess of Dysart and Lady Huntingtower. Born* 1745. *Married* 1765. *Died* 1840

SIR WILLIAM TALMASH (*formerly Manners*) *Baronet, Lord Huntingtower. Born* 1766. *Authorized by Royal Licence 6 April* 1821 *to assume the surname and Arms of* TALMASH *in lieu of Manners. Created a Baronet* 1793. *Died* 1833 — *Catherine Rebecca, daughter of Francis Gray. Born* 1766. *Married* 1790. *Died* 1852

FELIX THOMAS TOLLEMACHE *M.P. Born* 1796. *Died* 1843 — *Sarah, only child of James Gray. Married* 1825. *Died* 1831

Agatha, Married 1882, *Richard Lutrell Pilkington (Bethell), Baron Westbury*

CECIL LYONEL NEWCOMEN TOLLEMACHE, *Born* 1886

JOHN EADRED TOLLEMACHE *Born* 1892. *Killed in Action* 1916

LYONEL HUMPHRY JOHN TOLLEMACHE *Born* 1931

JOHN DELAP HALLIDAY *Major in the Army. Born 29 September 1749. Married 23 October 1771. Died 24 June 1794* — *Jane, daughter of Lionel, Earl of Dysart, K.T. Born 1750. Died 28 August 1802* — DAVID GEORGE FERRY *Married 4 March 1802*

J | J

(*See page 11*)

HUGH FRANCIS TOLLEMACHE *Clerk in Holy Orders. Born 1802 Died 1890* — *Matilda, daughter of Joseph Hume. Married 1824. Died 1873*

Caroline only daughter and eventual heir. Born 1828. Married 1853. Died 1867 — RALPH WILLIAM LYONEL TOLLEMACHE, *Clerk in Holy Orders. Born 1826. Died 1895* — *Dora Cleopatra Maria Lorenza, daughter of Ignacio Antonio de Orellano y Revest, Colonel in the Spanish Army. Married 1869. Died 1929*

SIR LYONEL FELIX CARTERET EUGENE TOLLEMACHE, *Baronet. Born 1854* — *Hersilia Henrietta Diana Oliphant, daughter of Joseph Collingwood. Married 1881*

HUMPHRY THOMAS TOLLEMACHE *Major the Royal Marines. Born 1897* — *Nora Priscilla, daughter of John Taylor. Married 1926*

Daughters

Daughters

Emma Georgiana, daughter of Randolph Stewart, Earl of Galloway. Married 1858. *Died* 1869 — WILBRAHAM FREDERICK TOLLEMACHE BARON TOLLEMACHE, *Born* 1832. *Died* 17 *December* 1904 *at Tunbridge Wells county Kent* — *Mary Stuart, daughter of Lord Claud Hamilton Married* 1878

LYONEL PLANTAGENET TOLLEMACHE, *Born* 28 *October* 1860. *Died V.P.* 28 *August* 1902 — *Blanche Sybil, only daughter and heir of Robert Edward King, Earl of Kingston. Married* 13 *April* 1882. *Died* 28 *May* 1923 — GRANVILLE LANDESBOROUGH FINDLAY *M.B., Ch. B. Married* 1903 — WILBRAHAM JOHN TOLLEMACHE, *Born* 5 *February* 1865. *Died* 3 *June* 1914, *unmarried*

Winifred Rose, only child of Sir Arnold Burrowes Kemball, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., General in the Army. Married 17 *January* 1902. *Died* 16 *May* 1926 — BENTLEY LYONEL JOHN TOLLEMACHE, BARON TOLLEMACHE, *Born* 7 *March* 1883. *Living* 1949 — *Lynette, daughter of A. V. Pawson. Married* 23 *October* 1928

Dorothy Cecily. Born 11 *February* 1907

Frances Patricia. Born 24 *November* 1908

(*From page* 9)

J | J

JOHN RICHARD DELAP TOLLEMACHE (*formerly Halliday*) *Rear Admiral of the Blue Squadron. Eldest son and heir. Authorized by Royal Licence* 4 *July* 1821 *to assume and use the surname and Arms of* TOLLEMACHE *only. Died* 1837 == *Elizabeth, daughter of John Stratford, Earl of Aldborough. Married* 28 *February* 1797

Georgina Louisa daughter of Thomas Best. Married 2 *August* 1826. *Died* 18 *July* 1846 == JOHN TOLLEMACHE, BARON TOLLEMACHE *of Helmingham (so created* 17 *January* 1876). *M.P. Born* 7 *December* 1805. *Died* 9 *December* 1890 == *Minnie, daughter of James Duff. Married* 17 *January* 1850. *Died* 4 *August* 1918, *aged* 90

Other issue See Chapters 20 & 21

J | M

(*See page* 13)

LIONEL ARTHUR TOLLEMACHE *Born* 28 *May* 1838. *Died* 1919 == *Beatrix Lucia Catherine, youngest daughter of William Tatton (Egerton) Baron Egerton of Tatton. Married* 25 *January* 1870. *Died* 24 *December* 1926

RANDOLPH STEWART TOLLEMACHE, *Lieut. R.N. Born* 5 *April* 1866. *Died* 13 *May* 1923

ARTHUR WILBRAHAM TOLLEMACHE. *Born* 9 *September* 1867. *Died* 12 *August* 1932

Emma Georgina Blanche. Died unmarried 1 *June* 1935

Grace Emma Died unmarried 14 *March* 1934

DENIS PLANTAGENET TOLLEMACHE, *D.S.O., Lieut-Colonel late 7th Hussars, High Sheriff county Rutland* (1933). *Born* 12 *January* 1884. *Died unmarried* 1942

Sybil Diana. Born 1 *May* 1930

JOHN RICHARD DELAP TOLLEMACHE *Lieut. R.N. Born 22 October 1850. Died 6 February 1914. 3rd son* — *Margaret Ann, daughter of Frederick Answorth. Married by Licence 13 January 1883*

HAMILTON JAMES TOLLEMACHE *late of the Durham Light Infantry. Born 22 January 1852. Died 16 June 1893. 4th son* — *Mabel, 2nd daughter of Robert Culling Hanbury M.P. Married 21 October 1879. Died 9 February 1941*

MURRAY ARTHUR TOLLEMACHE *Born 21 May 1853. Died 16 October 1913*

EDWARD DEVEREUX HAMILTON TOLLEMACHE *of Coval Court, Sunningdale county Berkshire, D.S.O. M.C. Major-General in the Army. Born 1 June 1885. Died 27 Aug. 1947* — *Violet Aline, daughter of The Right Honourable Sir West Ridgeway, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., P.C. Married 9 February 1909 at the Guards Chapel, London*

JOHN EDWARD HAMILTON TOLLEMACHE, *M.C. Born 24 April 1910 at Lowndes Square, London* — *Dinah Susan, daughter of Sir Archibald Auldjo Jamieson. Married 16 February 1939*

TIMOTHY JOHN EDWARD TOLLEMACHE *Born 13 December 1939*

JOHN NICHOLAS LIONEL TOLLEMACHE *Born 13 June 1941*

(*From page* 11)

J | M

STANHOPE ALFRED TOLLEMACHE, *in the Commission of the Peace and* (1903) *High Sheriff county Suffolk. Born* 26 *August* 1855. *Died* 18 *December* 1934. *6th son. His issue*

═══ *Elizabeth Monks. Married* 27 *September* 1905

DUFF JAMES ALFRED TOLLEMACHE, *Born* 5 *January* 1859. *Died* 18 *April* 1936. *7th son*

═══ *Emily, daughter of Thomas George Beer. Married* 30 *June* 1897

HENRY ROBERT TOLLEMACHE *Born October* 1888 *at Granville Place, London. Died* 15 *November* 1931 *at Mundesley county Norfolk*

═══ *Ethel Maud, daughter of John Irwin of Belmount, Mullingar, Ireland. Married* 1912

ANTHONY HENRY HAMILTON TOLLEMACHE, *G.C. Squadron Leader the Royal Air Force. Born* 1913

═══ *Françoise, daughter of Jean de Hautecloque, sometime French Ambassador to Canada. Married* 1947

Karin Irene Elizabeth, Born 1916. *Married* 13 *October* 1945, *William Gordon Jack, Lieutenant-Commander, R.N.*

MICHAEL DOUGLAS DAVID TOLLEMACHE *Born* 25 *August* 1944

HUGH JOHN HAMILTON TOLLEMACHE *Born* 17 *February* 1946

DOUGLAS ALFRED TOLLEMACHE *Born 27 June 1862 8th son. His issue* = *Alice Mary, daughter of John Head. Married 17 August 1887*

Ethel Julia daughter of Henry Cavendish Cavendish. Married 14 February 1912. Died 11 January 1928 = STRATFORD HALIDAY ROBERT LOUIS TOLLEMACHE *Born 25 June 1864. 9th son* = *Emma, daughter of Silas Manasseh of Singapore. Married 17 July 1930*

DETMAR BLOW *J.P., F.R.I.B.A. Died 7 February 1939 at Hilles House, Stroud county Gloucester* = *Winifred Gertrude. Born 30 March 1882. Married 5 November 1910 at St. Paul's Cathedral, London*

RICHARD PURCELL BLOW *Born 4 September 1915* = *Diana Hermione only child of William Adrian Vincent Bethell, Captain 1st Life Guards. Married 1939*

JONATHAN OLIVER BLOW *Born 15 August 1919*

Clare Désirée. Born 12 February 1914. Married (1) 12 February 1934, Phelim Hugh O'Neill, Captain in the Army. Decree of Divorce dated 14 June 1944. Married (2) 14 June 1944, Lewis Stanton Starkey, Colonel the Grenadier Guards

Lucilla, Born 8 June 1923. Married 17 April 1938, Philip A. Ware Cornish

RANULPH CARTERET TOLLEMACHE *Born 1 January 1866. 10th son. His issue*

= *Annie Mary, daughter of William Smith. Married 20 May 1889. Died 25 April 1923*

MORTIMER GRANVILLE TOLLEMACHE *Born 12 April 1872. 11th son. His issue*

= *Margaret Jane Roberts. Married 14 July 1894*

Rhona Cecilia Emily. Born 25 September 1857. Married 17 April 1883 Thomas Wood, Colonel the Grenadier Guards

GEORGE CECIL MINETT SORELL-CAMERON, *C.B.E., Lieut-Colonel the Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders. Died 28 June 1947*

= *Marguerite. Born 4 September 1880. Married 27 September 1906*

JOHN SORELL-CAMERON *D.S.O., Lieut-Colonel Cameron Highlanders. Born 19 July 1907*

= *Catherine Nancy, daughter of Frank Lee. Married 1937*

ROBERT SORELL-CAMERON *C.B.E. Group Captain the Royal Air Force*

= *Henrietta, daughter of John Radford Norcop. Married 1939*

Helen Marguerite. Born 1920. Married 1945, George Dick Lauder, Major the Black Watch

Agnes. Born 28 December 1909. Married 1933, Cyril Hugh Kerr-Smiley, Lieut-Colonel in the Army

PLANTAGENET DESCENT

HENRY THE THIRD, *King of England* — ELEANOR, *daughter of Raymond, Count of Provence*

EDWARD THE FIRST, *King of England* — *Eleanor, daughter of Ferdinand the Third, King of Castile*

EDWARD THE SECOND, *King of England* — *Isabella, daughter of Philip the Fourth, King of France*

EDWARD THE THIRD, *King of England* (*See page* 18) — *Philippa, daughter of William, Count of Holland and Hainault*

LIONEL OF ANTWERP, DUKE OF CLARENCE AND EARL OF ULSTER — *Elizabeth, only daughter and heir of William de Burgh, Earl of Ulster*

EDMUND MORTIMER EARL OF MARCH — *Philippa, sole daughter and heir*

E | P

(*See page* 17)

(*From page* 16)

E | P

HENRY, LORD PERCY, *surnamed* HOTSPUR = *Elizabeth*

JOHN DE CLIFFORD, LORD CLIFFORD *K.G. Inq. p.m.* 10 *Hen. V* (1422) = *Elizabeth*

SIR PHILIP WENTWORTH *of Nettlested county Suffolk, Knt. Died V.P.* = *Elizabeth*

SIR HENRY WENTWORTH *of Nettlested aforesaid, Knt. Died* 1499 = *Anne, daughter of Sir John Saye*

SIR RICHARD WENTWORTH *of Nettlested aforesaid, Knight* = *Anne, daughter of Sir James Tyrell of Gipping county Suffolk*

LYONELL TALLEMACH *of Helmingham county Suffolk* = *Dorothy*

(*See page* 1)

(*See page* 2)

EDWARD THE THIRD. *King of England. Died* 1377
(*See page* 16)
= PHILIPPA, *daughter of William Count of Hainault. Died* 1369

JOHN OF GAUNT, DUKE OF LANCASTER, KING OF CASTILE AND LEON *K.G. 4th son. Died* 1399
= *Catherine, daughter of Sir Payne Roet, Knight relict of Sir Otho de Swinford, Knight. Died* 1403

RALPH, LORD NEVILLE *of Raby K.G. Created Earl of Westmorland, Earl Marshall of England. Died 4 Henry VI.*
= *Joane de Beaufort. Died* 1440

RICHARD NEVILLE, EARL OF SALISBURY *Ob.* 38 *Henry VI.*
= *Alice, daughter and heir of Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury*

WILLIAM, LORD BONVILE AND HARRINGTON
= *Katherine*

W | K

(*See page* 19)

(*From page* 18)

W | K

THOMAS GREY, MARQUESS OF DORSET AND LORD GREY *of Groby K.G. Uterine brother of King Edward V.* = *Cecily, daughter and heir of William Lord Bonvile and Harrington. 2nd Wife*

ROBERT WILLOUGHBY, LORD WILLOUGHBY *of Broke. Died* 13 *Henry VIII* (1521) = *Dorothy 2nd Wife*

JOHN PAWLET, MARQUESS OF WINCHESTER = *Elizabeth*

HENRY, LORD CROMWELL *of Ockham. Living* 1596 = *Mary*

SIR LYONELL TALLEMASH *of Helmingham. Knight and Baronet* (*See page* 2) = *Katherine*

(*See page* 2)

Extracted from the Records of the College of Arms, London

Archibald G. B. Russell

Lancaster Herald

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NOTE—Where a single date is given opposite a name without the letters *b.* (born), *m.* (married) or *d.* (died), it denotes the earliest date to which reference is made in the text. A pair of dates in a bracket covers the whole life of the person. The letter *n* against a page number indicates reference to a footnote.

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